

THE
ORATIONS
OF
CICERO,
Translated into ENGLISH.

VOL. II.
CONTAINING
The ORATIONS

First, }
Second, } against { For CÆLIUS.
Third, } CATILINE. { The first, } *Philippic.*
Fourth, } { The second, }

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First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, Twenty-sixth, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first, Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-sixth, Thirty-seventh, Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third, Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth, Fiftieth, Fifty-first, Fifty-second, Fifty-third, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-fifth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-seventh, Fifty-eighth, Fifty-ninth, Sixtieth, Sixty-first, Sixty-second, Sixty-third, Sixty-fourth, Sixty-fifth, Sixty-sixth, Sixty-seventh, Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, Seventieth, Seventy-first, Seventy-second, Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, Seventy-fifth, Seventy-sixth, Seventy-seventh, Seventy-eighth, Seventy-ninth, Eightieth, Eighty-first, Eighty-second, Eighty-third, Eighty-fourth, Eighty-fifth, Eighty-sixth, Eighty-seventh, Eighty-eighth, Eighty-ninth, Ninetieth, Ninety-first, Ninety-second, Ninety-third, Ninety-fourth, Ninety-fifth, Ninety-sixth, Ninety-seventh, Ninety-eighth, Ninety-ninth, One hundredth.

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MDCCLXXIII.





THE
A R G U M E N T.

NO Conspiracy was ever enter'd into with a more bloody View, or if successful, must have been attended with more dismal Consequences, than that of Catiline against Rome. The Ends which the Conspirators propos'd were not merely Political, such as those of creating an Alteration in the fundamental Constitution of the Government, or removing Persons in Power, but tended to an utter Extinction of all who were not immediately concerned in the Conspiracy. The very City of Rome was to have been fired, and the Senators and Citizens cut off; but as the Particulars of it have been fully described by Sallust, and many other Authors, we shall say nothing more, either of the Persons, or the History of the Conspirators.

The following was probably not the first Oration which Cicero had pronounced against Catiline, and his Accomplices. But as this contains the Substance of all he had formerly said on this Occasion, it appears that he had been at no Pains to preserve the others. The Occasion on which it was pronounced, was as follows:

Catiline, and the other Conspirators, had
VOL. II. B met

A R G U M E N T.

met together in the House of one Marcus Lecca; where it was proposed, that Catiline should leave the City, while the others remained to execute the bloody Purposes of their Conspiracy. Upon Cataline's making a small kind of a Difficulty in leaving the City before Cicero was murdered, two Roman Knights who were present, whose Names were Caius Cornelius, and Lucius Vargunteius, undertook to murder him before break of Day. But Cicero having Advice of this by one Fulvia, a noted Courtesan, took such Measures as entirely disappointed them, and next Day summoned the Senate into the Temple of Jupiter Stator, with a Design to lay before them the whole of the Conspiracy. Cataline appearing at the Place appointed, with the other Conspirators, his Audacity seems to have provoked our Orator so much, that he rushes into an abrupt Invective against him and his Associates, whom he pathetically exhorts to be gone out of Rome.

It was pronounced in the Senate, convened in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, in the Year of the City 609, and of Cicero's Age 44.





M. T.

C I C E R O's
F I R S T
O R A T I O N
A G A I N S T
C A T I L I N E.



O W far wilt thou, O *Cati-*
line! abuse our Patience?
How long shall thy Mad-
ness elude our Justice? To
what Extremities art thou
resolved to push thy unbridled Insolence of
Guilt? Canst thou behold the nocturnal
Arms that watch the PALATIUM, the
Guards of the City, the Consternation of the
Citizens; all the Wise and Worthy cluster- 10
ing into Consultation; this impregnable Si-
B 2 tuation

tuation of the Seat of the Senate, and the re-
 proachful Looks of the Fathers of *Rome*? Canst
 thou, I say, behold all this, and yet remain
 undaunted and unabashed? Art thou insen-
 5 sible thy Practices are detected? Art thou in-
 sensible that this Senate, now thoroughly
 informed, comprehend the whole Extent
 of thy Guilt? Point me out the Senator
 ignorant of thy Practices during the last
 10 and the preceeding Night; of the Place
 where you met, the Company you sum-
 moned, and the Crimes you concerted. The
 Senate is conscious, the Consul is witness to
 this; yet, mean and degenerate! the Traitor
 15 lives: Lives! did I say? He mixes with the
 Senate; he shares in our Counsels; with a
 steady Eye he surveys us; he anticipates his
 Guilt; he enjoys the murderous Thought,
 and coolly marks us out to bleed. Yet we,
 20 boldly passive in our Country's Cause, think
 we act like *Romans*, if by winking at his
 Treasons, we can escape his Sword.

LONG since, O *Catiline*! ought the Con-
 25 sul to have doomed thy Life a Forfeit to thy
 Country; and to have directed upon thy own
 Head the Plagues and Pains thou hast been
 long meditating for ours. Could the noble
 Scipio, when Sovereign Pontiff, as a private
 Roman, kill *Tiberius Gracchus* for a slight
 Encroach-

against CATILINE. 5

Encroachment upon the Rights of his Country; and shall we, her Consuls, with persevering Patience bear with *Catiline*, whose Ambition is to desolate a devoted World with Fire and Sword? Not to mention that antiquated Instance, when *Servilius Ahala* with his own Hand punished with Death *Spurius Melius*, who was but suspected of a Design to alter the Constitution. There was, there was a Time, when 10 such was the Spirit of *Rome*, that the Resentment of her gallant Sons more severely crushed the *Roman* Traitor, than the most inveterate Enemy. Strong and weighty, O *Catiline*! is the Decree of the Senate we can 15 now produce against you; neither Wisdom is wanting in this State, nor Authority in this Assembly; but we, let me here take Shame to myself, we, the Consuls, are wanting in our Duty. 20

WHEN the Senate once decreed, *the Consul*, *Opimius*, should take Care that the *Common-wealth* might receive no Injury, not a Night passed before his jealous Justice put to 25 Death *Caius Gracchus* suspected of Sedition, tho' descended of a Father, a Grandfather and a Family all eminent for their Services to *Rome*; and *Marcus Fulvius* with his Sons

6 CICE RO'S ORATION

underwent the same Fate. When by a like Decree the Government was put into the Hands of the Consuls, *Caius Marius* and *Lucius Valerius*, did one Day intervene before
 5 *Lucius Saturninus*, the Tribune of the People, and *Caius Servilius*, the Prætor, satisfy'd by their Blood the Justice of their Country ? Yet for these twenty Days have we suffered the Edge of this Assembly's Decision, keen as
 10 it is, to remain unactive in our Hands. For we have a like Decree, but it rests upon our Records, like a Sword in its Scabbard ; yet this, O *Catiline* ! is a Decree that ought in course to have given you up to immediate Death.
 15 Yet you live ; you live, not to lay aside, but to swell, your audacious Guilt.

MERCY, Fathers Conscript, is my Delight ; but never, in the Hour of Danger to my
 20 Country, may that Mercy degenerate into Weakness. Yet even now my Conscience tells me that I have been remiss and negligent. Within *Italy*, upon the very Borders of *Tuscany*, a Camp is pitched against the Republic.
 25 The Numbers of the Enemy daily increase ; but the Captain of that Camp, the Leader of those Enemies, we behold within these Walls, amidst this Assembly, daily working up some home-bred Calamity for *Rome*. Should
 I

I now at this instant, *Catiline*, command thee to be seized, to be dragged to Death, the Censure, which I am afraid I have to dread from every good Man, would be, not that I acted with too much Severity, but with too much Slowness. Yet this necessary Piece of Justice, tho' long required, a certain Reason prevails upon me still to delay. You shall suffer Death, trust me you shall; but at a Time when there cannot be found a Man on 10 Earth so much a Traitor, so much a Villain, so much a *Catiline*, as not to applaud the Justice of the Stroke. You shall live, while there breathes a Man, who dares to defend thee; but thou shalt live, as thou livest now, 15 beset by my numerous, my trusty Guards, so that thou shalt not have the Power so much as to wag against the State; for many shall be the Eyes, and many the Ears, who, unperceived by thee, as they have hitherto been, 20 shall watch thy Motions, and observe thy Actions.

BUT *Catiline*, what hast thou now to trust to? If neither the Gloom of Night can 25 conceal your lawless Assemblies, nor the silent Walls of a solitary Mansion prevent thy Treason from lifting up its Voice; if every Word is heard, if every Circumstance bursts

8 C I C E R O ' s O R A T I O N

into Discovery. Put off, put off, that hardened Sense; for once wipe from thy Mind thy Thoughts of Fire and Murder. You are on all Hands beset; your Practices are clear
5 as the Sun at Noon, as you shall own from the Detail I am now to make. You may remember, that on the twenty first of *October* last, I foretold in the Senate, that before the twenty fifth, *Caius Manlius*, the Con-
10 federate and Creature of your Guilt, would appear in Arms. Was I deceived, *Catiline*, in my Conjectures upon this enormous, this detestable, this unparalleled Attempt? But what is more remarkable, did I not point out
15 the precise Day? I likewise foretold in the Senate, that you had fixed the Massacre of our Nobles for the twenty eighth; a Time when many of our greatest Men left *Rome*, not prevailed on by a selfish Sense of
20 their own Safety, but the Patriot Resolution to live that they might crush your Treasons. Can you deny that on that very Day you was so beset by my Vigilance, by my Guards, that to attempt ought against the State, was
25 out of your Power; tho' you boasted that the Blood of us who remained in *Rome* would be sufficient Attonement for the Escape of the others. But how! when favoured by Darkness you attempted to sur-
prize

prize *Preneſte* upon the 1ſt of *November*,
 didſt thou not perceive that Colony to be for-
 tify'd by my Orders, by my Officers, my
 Guards, and my Garrifons ? The Actions of
 your Hands, the Words of your Mouth, 5
 and the Meditations of your Heart are fa-
 miliar to my Ears, nay, preſent to my Eye,
 and plain to my Underſtanding.

RECOLLECT now the Tranſactions of laſt 10
 Night, while I recount them, and force you
 to acknowledge, that I am more vigilant in
 my Cares to preſerve, than you in your Plots
 to deſtroy, this Republic. I affirm, that laſt
 Night, you met your Confederate *Aſſafines*, 15
 (let me ſpeak it out) at the Houſe of *Marcus*
Lecca : I affirm that then, and there,
 Numbers of your Aſſociates in Guilt, and
 Partners in Deſpair, were aſſembled. You
 don't dare to deny this ! You own it by your 20
 Silence. Did you not, I could prove it.
 For I have now in my Eye, ſome in this
 very Aſſembly who were preſent at your
 Conſultation.

25

Immortal Gods ! In what Air do we
 breathe ; in what a City do we live ; of what
 a State are we Members ! Here, here, Fathers
 Conſcript, within theſe Walls, and in this
 Aſſembly,

Assembly, this Assembly, the most awful,
 the most venerable the Sun beholds, are
 Men who meditate my Death, and your
 Destruction; who meditate the Ruin of this
 5 City, and consequently of this World.
 Their Persons I can now point out; their
 Opinions I am now to ask; and instead of
 shedding their Blood, I spare their Repu-
 tation. That Night, therefore, *Catiline*,
 10 you was at the House of *Lecca*; you can-
 toned all *Italy* out, you appointed the Station
 to which every one was to repair; you singled
 out those who were to attend your Person;
 and those who were to stay in *Rome*; you
 15 pointed out the Parts of the City, which the
 Flames were first to catch, and declared,
 that even then you had a trifling Obstacle in
 that I was still alive. Two *Roman* Knights,
 then, to ease you of this Disquiet, undertook
 20 with their own Hands, before they slept,
 and e're the Day should dawn, to dispatch
 me upon my humble Couch.

SCARCE was your Assembly dissolved, be-
 25 fore I learnt all this. The Guards of my House
 I doubled; the Retinue of my Person I in-
 creased; to those whom you sent to compli-
 ment me in the Morning I refused Admit-
 tance; having before-hand to many great, to
 many

against CATILINE. 11

many worthy Men declared by whom, and at what Hour these Compliments were to be paid.

SINCE such, O *Catiline* ! is the Situation of your Affairs, finish what you have planned ; 5
for once march out of the City ; her Gates are open ; they invite you to be gone ; too long has the Camp of *Manlius* mourned the Absence of their Leader. Carry along all your Accomplices ; at least as many as possible ; and thus shall *Rome* disgorge her Impurities. Great is the Joy it will give me when a Wall divides us. For my Patience, my Duty, my Honour call out that I now cast you from the Bosom of *Rome*, from the 15
social Intercourse of *Romans*.

GREAT are the Thanks we owe to the Eternal Gods ! and chief to thee, O Jove !
THE STAYER, the most antient Guardian 20
of *Rome* ; that they have enabled us so often to foil this dreadful, this dangerous, this detestable Scourge of his Country ; and surely better it is, that one Man should once perish, than the Republic be daily exposed to 25
destructive Calamities.

BEFORE, *Catiline*, I entered upon the executive Part of my Consulate, I sheltered me
from

from thy treacherous Attempts, not by a public Guard, but my private Vigilance. During the last Election of Consuls, when you endeavoured to murder, in the Field, me the Consul, with the Candidates who opposed you, supported by the Affections and Swords of my Friends, without Violation of the public Peace, I baffled your Attack. Afterwards, as often as you attempted my Life, I
10 singly opposed your Fury, tho' well I knew that my Death was linked with mighty Calamities to *Rome*; but on this Occasion, you avowedly attempt to destroy the very Existence of this Government; you doom to Destruction
15 and Desolation the Temples of the Immortal Gods; the Mansions of *Rome*, the Lives of her Citizens, and the Inhabitants of all *Italy*. Therefore, as I dare not now pursue the Maxims which distinguished our Govern-
20 ment, which characterised our Fathers, I will pursue a Measure, in its Execution less severe to the Criminal, but in its Consequences more useful to the Public; for should I pronounce your Death, the Dregs
25 of your Conspiracy must still lurk in the Body of the Republic. But should, you as I have often advised you, leave the City, she will then at once disgorge the baneful the contagious Impurity of your whole Faction.
How,

How, *Catiline*! do you hesitate at doing by my Commands what a little before you was doing of your own accord. The Consul orders an Enemy to withdraw from the City. Is this then, say you, a formal Banishment? 5
No, Sir, this is not your *Doom*; but, might I advise you, it ought to be your *Choice*.

WHAT is there, *Catiline*, that can give thee Joy within this City; wherein, if I except the execrable Cabal of your own Ruffians, there is not a Man to whom you are not the Object of Fear, the Object of Detestation? Is there a Domestic Stain, with which thy Character has not been branded? Is there an 15
Infamy in private Life unattached to thy Person? Where is the Lust that has not allured thine Eye, the Guilt that has not stained thy Hands, or the Pollution that has not defiled thy Body? Among all the heed- 20
less Youths inveigled by thy wanton Dalliances, is there one whose Insolence has been unsupported by thy Sword, and whose Lusts unsupply'd from thy Corruption?

BUT what do I talk? Even lately, after 25
your former Wife died, when by taking another, you dispatched out of your House all that you thought might check your Enormities,

mities, didst thou not heighten even that
 Crime with a new and unparalleled Measure of Guilt? But over this will I draw a
 Veil; for me it shall rest in Silence. Never
 5 thro' me shall it be known, that there lived
 in *Rome* a Man so exquisitely, so monstrously
 wicked, yet lived with an Impunity of Guilt.
 I shall not mention that impending Ruin of
 all your Fortunes, that by next Term you
 10 are sensible must crush you. Let me now
 proceed to what has no Relation to your
 personal Infamy in Vice, to your domestic
 Shame, or your reduced Circumstances;
 but to what immediately concerns the most
 15 important Interest of our Country, to all
 that is dear to us, and to every true *Roman*.

CAN you, O *Catiline*! enjoy the Beauty
 of Light? Can you with Pleasure breathe
 20 this vital Air, when you are conscious there
 is not a Man present who is ignorant that on
 the last Day of *December*, under the Con-
 sulate of *Lepidus* and *Tullus*, you stood with
 a Weapon in the Comitium; that you got
 25 together a Ruffian Band, which was to assassi-
 nate the Consuls, and the greatest Men of
 this City; that this execrable, this frantic
 Attempt was disappointed, not by any Re-
 verence, not by any Remorse that struck you,
 but

but by the Guardian Genius of Rome? These I omit, they are already but too well known, others are of a later Date. How often did you attempt to murder me when I was elected? How often when I was raised 5 to the Consulate? How often, how artfully, how narrowly, if I may say it, did I parry the Thrusts, which you knew so well to throw in, that each appeared mortal? There is nothing you do, there is nothing you design, there is nothing you contrive, that I am not informed of, before it is too late. Yet still are you restless, still enterprizing anew. How often has that Poniard been wrested out of thy Hands! How often by a strange 15 Fatality has it dropt ineffectual to the Ground! Yet can you not lay it aside. By what infernal, what unhallowed Rites has it been devoted and destined, that you are thus religiously resolved to lodge it in the Bosom of 20 a Consul?

IN what a Situation must you now be? I speak to you now, not in the Spirit of deserved Detestation, but of unmerited Com- 25 passion. Sometime ago you came into the Senate; but of all this full, this frequent Assembly, of all your numerous Friends and Relations, shew me the Man who saluted you.

you. If this is a Case unprecedented in the Memory of Man ; with the Keenneſs of Reproach, need I to embitter this dreadful Doom of ſilent Detestation ? What ! at your
5 Approach, when theſe Benches were left empty ? What ! when every Man of Conſular Dignity, whom you ſo often marked out to bleed, as ſoon as you took your Place, left the Quarter where you ſat, bare and ſolitary !
10 Will not all this chafe you into Deſpair ? By Heavens, if my Slaves ſhould have an equal Horror for me, as every Countryman you have, has for you ; I ſhould think it proper to abandon my own Houſe : Shall you then
15 preſume to remain in this City ? Were my Perſon equally obnoxious, equally odious to my Countrymen ; I would choſe rather to fly from their Looks, than ſtand the reproachful Glances of every Man I meet : And ſhall you,
20 whoſe Conſciouſneſs of Guilt convicts you of the Juſtice of univerſal and long merited Detestation, a moment hesitate in avoiding the Looks and Company of a People, to whoſe Souls, and whoſe Senſes your
25 Perſon is execrable ? Should your natural Parents dread and hate you ; ſhould you find that Dread, that Hatred invincible by all the Proofs of filial Duty ; at leaſt you would retire from their Preſence : But now your
Country

Country the common Parent of us all hates and dreads you; and long has she been sensible, that all your Thoughts have been employ'd on the Means of destroying her; shall you then neither be abashed by her Authority, submissive to her Will, nor daunted with her Power?

HEAR, O *Catiline*! the manner in which we may interpret the expressive Silence of this Parent; hear the Words in which we may suppose her to accost you.

“FROM thee, for these many Years, have
 “all Offences sprung; *without thee*, has no
 “Crime had a Being. Thro’ thee, and thro’
 “thee alone, the Murder of many *Romans*
 “has been unavenged; and by thee, has the
 “oppressive Hand that plundered my Allies
 “been free and unpunished. Thou hast
 “found the Means that Justice and Law
 “should not only be neglected, but abused
 “and abolished. All this, however pro-
 “voking, yet did I bear as I could: But
 “now, that thy Conduct alone strikes Ter-
 “rors thro’ my Soul, that the Mention of
 “thy Name sounds an Alarm to my Vigi-
 “lance, that thy Guilt embraces and im-
 “proves every Scheme that is laid for my
 VOL. II. C “Ruin,

" Ruin, *now*, indeed, art thou become in-
 " tolerable. Therefore be gone ; rid me of
 " my Apprehensions ; if they are just I shall
 " then avoid Ruin ; if groundless, at length
 5 " shall I cease to fear."

SHOULD, as I have supposed, your Coun-
 try thus accost you, ought she not to prevail,
 even tho' she were too weak to force you to
 10 Compliance ? But how ? Didst thou not
 surrender thyself a Prisoner ? Didst thou not
 give out that to avoid Suspicion thou wouldst
 live in the House of *Lepidus* ? When he re-
 fused to receive you, you had the Impudence
 15 to come even to me ; entreating that I would
 take you into Custody within my House.
 I also made answer, that it was utterly in-
 consistent with my Safety, for me to live in
 the same House with a Man, with whom I
 20 could not without the greatest Danger live
 in the same City. You then applied to
Q. Metellus, the Prætor, where you met with
 a new Repulse. Then you marched off to
 the excellent *Marcus Marcellus*, your Com-
 25 panion ; a Man, whom belike you ima-
 gined would be very watchful in confining
 you, very shrewd in observing you, and very
 brave in bringing you to Justice. But the
 Man who owns himself worthy of Restraint,
 how

how near may we presume him to be to Bolts and Chains? If so, O *Catiline*! if the Prospect of Death *here* is shocking to a Soul like thine; canst thou hesitate in retiring to some other Land, and in hiding in Exile 5 and Solitude thy Head, that repeated, that just, that merited Forfeit to thy Country's Justice.

MOVE for the Question, say you, to the 10 Senate. For thus you talk, as if you were ready to obey their Decision, if it shall fix Banishment as your Doom. I will move for no such Question; it is contrary to my Inclination. Yet I will order it so, that you 15 may be fully apprized of their Sentiments with regard to you. " *Catiline*, leave this " City; rid thy Country of her Fears; go, " if all you wait for, is that Word, into Ba- " nishment." Ha! *Catiline*; hast thou the 20 Use of thy Senses; do you mark their Silence? They are passive, they are mute. Need they to strengthen by their Voice what is sufficiently imply'd by their Silence?

25
YET should I pronounce the same Doom upon that excellent Youth *Publius Sextius*, or the brave *Marcellus*; before this instant; upon this very Spot, without regard to the

Sanctity of the Place, without regard to my Consular Authority, I had with Justice been chastised by the Hands of the Senate. But *Catiline*, in thy Case, while they forbear thy
 5 Punishment, they approve thy Doom ; while they sit in Silence, they pronounce thy Sentence ; and while they stifle their Resentment, they proclaim thy Guilt. Nor is it thus with the Senate alone, (whose Authority
 10 you dread, but whose Lives you flight ;) but with these *Roman* Knights, these brave honest Men, and every gallant *Roman* who surrounds our Assembly ; whose Numbers you see ; whose Inclination you may learn ; whose
 15 Voices a little while ago you might have heard ; and whose Swords and Hands I have long with Difficulty restrained from thy Person ; yet with them will I easily prevail, shouldst thou leave these Walls which thou
 20 hast long devoted to Ruin, to attend you even to their Gates.

BUT wherefore do I talk ? As if thy Purpose were to be shaken, or thy Guilt re-
 25 claimed ? That *thou* shouldst meditate any Flight ; that *thou* shouldst think of any Exile ! I wish the Immortal Gods did inspire thee with such a Resolution ; yet, if daunted by my Words, thou shouldst re-
 solve

solve to go into Banishment, I foresee what
 a Storm of Unpopularity must lowr over my
 Reputation; not so much in this Generation,
 while thy Guilt is flagrant, as in the succeed-
 ing. Yet with me shall this Consideration 5
 have no Weight, provided the Calamity is con-
 fined to me, and extends not to my Coun-
 try. But 'tis unreasonable to suppose that
 thou canst be startled at the Greatness of thy
 Guilt; be daunted by the Severity of the 10
 Laws; or moved by the Dangers of thy
 Country; deaf to the Voice of Reason.
 Thou, O *Catiline*! art none of those,
 whom the Sense of Shame reclaims from
 Dishonour; Fear, from Danger; or Reason 15
 from Rage.

THEREFORE, as I have often said, be
 gone: And, if you want to swell the Mea-
 sure of my Unpopularity, for being, as you 20
 express it, thy Enemy, depart directly into
 Banishment: Do this; then shall I with
 Difficulty bear up against the Reflections of
 Mankind: Scarce shall I be equal to that
 Weight of public Hatred, shouldst thou at 25
 the Command of a Consul retire into Exile.
 But, if you consult the Glory of my Name,
 march off with your outrageous Band of
 Ruffians: Be gone to *Manlius*; alarm every

desperate *Roman*; divide thee from the Virtuous; make War on thy Country; plume thee in thy unnatural Robberies: Thus shalt thou seem, not as cast out by me to Foreigners, but invited thither by the Voice of thy Friends.

BUT why do I sollicit thee, when I know, that you have already detached a Body
 10 of armed Men, who are to wait thee at the *Aurelian Forum*? When I know that thou hast concerted, that thou hast fixed, a Day with *Manlius*? *When I know that thou hast already sent off that Silver Eagle, the dome-*
 15 *stic Shrine of all thy Impieties, and which, trust me, will bring Calamity and Ruin upon thee and thine.* How could you so long be deprived of this Object of your Worship? For to it, as often as you went out to murder,
 20 you pay'd your Vows; and thy polluted Hands were by turns reared to the Altars of thy Idol, and to the Murder of thy Countrymen.

25 YET at length shalt thou retire to where thou hast long been hurrying thro' frantic Rage, and unbridled Ambition! A Circumstance so far from affecting thee with Anguish, that it elevates thee into unutterable
 Extasy.

Extasy. To such a Pitch of Frenzy art
thou formed by Nature, trained by Appetite,
and reserved by Fate: You never delighted
in Repose: You never even delighted in War,
but when both were flagitious. You have 5
levied a confederate Band of Ruffians; from
Wretches, not only completely destitute,
but desperate. Here what Transports shalt
thou indulge, with what Extasy shalt thou
triumph, in what Riot shalt thou revel, 10
when of all thy numerous Crew, thine Ears
shall not be shocked with the Voice, nor
thine Eyes with the Sight of one honest Man?
To the Enjoyment of such a Life are all
thy boasted Toils directed; your lying out 15
on the Ground, not only to compass a Rape,
but to commit a Robbery; thy treacherous
Vigilance to improve to thy own Purposes,
not only the Slumber of the married Man,
but the Property of the unguarded, the un- 20
suspecting Citizen. Now hast thou a Scene
to display thy boasted Patience under Hun-
ger and Cold, and the want of every Ne-
cessary of Life; with all which thou must
soon be pinched. So much did I gain, when 25
I disappointed thee of the Consulate, that
thy Country should feel thy Attempts as an
Exile, and not thy Tyranny as a Consul;
and that every Step of thy Ruffian Treason
C 4 might

might be termed the Efforts, not of an Enemy, but of a Robber.

Now, O Fathers Conscript! that I may
 5 remove, that I may deprecate from myself
 the Consequences of a too well grounded
 Charge urged by my Country; attentively,
 I beseech you, hear, and treasure up in the
 innermost Recesses of your Minds and Me-
 10 mories, what I am now to deliver; for should
 my *Country*, that *Country* which to me is far
 dearer than Life; should all *Italy*, should all
 the Frame of this Constitution thus accost
 me: "*Marcus Tullius*, what are you about?

15 " Will you suffer my approved Enemy,
 " him whom you see, who you are sensi-
 " ble is to be put at the Head of this im-
 " pending War, whose Presence in their
 " Camp my Enemies expect; that Spring,
 20 " that first Principle of Guilt and Trea-
 " son, the Man who enrolls my Slaves,
 " who ruins my Citizens; will you suffer
 " him, I say, to escape, that he may seem
 " not as driven *from*, but *into* this City?
 25 " Will you not command him to be thrown
 " into Fetters, to be dragged to Execution,
 " and to atone for his Guilt by his Blood?

" WHAT restrains thee? The Practice
 " of

“ of our Ancestors! When it has been
 “ known, that in this State Persons un-
 “ invested with public Authority have often
 “ put to Death their wicked Countrymen.
 “ Are you bound up by the Statutes re- 5
 “ lating to the Punishment of *Romans*? In
 “ *Rome*, never can the Man who withdraws
 “ his Allegiance from his Country, plead
 “ the Privileges of a *Roman*. Dost thou
 “ dread the Reproaches of Posterity? A 10
 “ glorious Proof of Gratitude indeed to thy
 “ Country, which *knowing thee only thro’ thy-*
 “ *self*, without the Merits of Ancestors to
 “ speak in thy Favour, so early raised thee
 “ thro’ every Gradation of subordinate 15
 “ Trust, to her supreme Seat of Power.
 “ Should Reproach however keen, should
 “ Danger however dreadful, render thee re-
 “ mifs, when all that is dear to her Sons is
 “ threatned? But if thou art to dread Re- 20
 “ proach, art thou to dread it more on ac-
 “ count of thy not being destitute of Honesty
 “ and Courage, than for Sloth and Pusilla-
 “ nimity? When *Italy* shall be desolated
 “ with War, her Towns given up to her 25
 “ Foes, and her Dwellings wrapt in the
 “ Flames; think, think, in what a Confla-
 “ gration of Reproach thyself must then
 “ be consumed!

To

To these awful Words of my complaining Country, and of every Man who entertains the same Sentiments, I thus answer ; Had I, Fathers Conscript, judged it most expedient that *Catiline* should die ; I had not indulged, to this Trader in Murder, the Respite of a single Hour from Death. For if the greatest of Men, and the noblest of Romans appeared, not only unpolluted, but
 10 even looked lovely in the Blood of *Saturninus*, the *Gracchi*, and *Flaccus*, and many other Traitors of Antiquity ; I, sure, had no Reason to dread the Indignation of Posterity at my destroying this Parricide of his
 15 Country. Yet did I now perceive the Storm of future Reproach impending over my Head ; I have ever thought, that *Reproach on account of PUBLIC SPIRIT*, in attempting to blacken the MAN, distinguishes the
 20 PATRIOT.

BUT some there are in this Assembly who either do not perceive, or are unwilling to own their Sense of our approaching Ruin ;
 25 whose lenient Measures cherished the Hopes of *Catiline* ; and whose Incredulity hurled the Infancy of his Treason. Many, destitute either of Wisdom or Virtue, following their Authority would have said, that in putting him
 him

him to Death, I had acted in a *Cruel* and a
Regal Manner. Now do I perceive, that
 should he retire to where he intends, the
 Camp of *Manlius*, there is not a *Roman* so
 stupid as not to see, nor so wicked as not to
 own, that a Conspiracy is formed. His sin- 5
 gle Death, I can perceive, may for a while
 abate, but never can it extinguish, this
 Pestilence of my Country. But should he
 eject himself; should he carry his Accomplices 10
 along with him; should he make that Camp
 the common Center of his desperate, his
 now dissipated Faction; not only this Pesti-
 lence of the State, now ripened into Ma-
 turity, but the very Roots, the very Seeds of 15
 Treason shall be cut up and destroy'd.

TRUE it is, Fathers Conscript, that long
 have we trod amidst the dangerous, the
 doubtful Arts of Treason: But by what 20
 means has it happened, that in my Con-
 sulate, the Tumour, pregnant with every
 Guilt, with long gathering Rage and In-
 solence, has ripened into Breaking? But if
 from such a Confederacy in Treason, this one 25
 Traitor only shall be removed, we may in-
 dulge perhaps a short temporary Relaxation
 from Care and Concern; but still shall the
 Danger remain lurking in the Veins and Vitals
 of

71
of our Country. As Patients, in the Anguish
of a Disease, and parched with feverish Heat,
are at first seemingly relieved by a Draught
of cold Water; but soon the Disease returns
5 with redoubled Force and Pain; so our
Country gaining a short Interval of Ease,
by the Punishment of this Traitor, will,
from his surviving Confederates, languish
with more mortal Symptoms.

10

WHEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, let the
Wicked retire; let them sever themselves
from the Virtuous; let them herd together
in one Place. In short, as I have often said,
15 let a Wall divide us; no longer let them
beset the Consul in his own House; environ
the Tribunal of the City Prætor; besiege the
Court with their Swords, or lay up Maga-
zines of combustible Balls and Brands for
20 firing the City: In short, let the Sentiments
of every Man, with regard to the Public, be
inscribed on his Forehead. This, Fathers
Conscript, now I promise, that such shall
be the Diligence of your Consuls; such the
25 Weight of your Body; such the Courage
of the *Roman* Knights, and such the Unani-
mity of all the Wise and Worthy, that
upon *Catiline's* Retreat, you shall perceive
him and all his Treasons discovered, exposed,
confounded, and punished.

BE

BE gone, O *Catiline*! Be gone, with
 Omens such as these, into an impious, an
 execrable War, and may its Issue prove Sal-
 vation to this Country; Desolation, Destruc-
 tion, and Death to thee, and all the Affo- 5
 ciates of thy boundless Guilt and Treason.
 And Thou, O Jove! whose Name *Romu-*
lus consecrated by the same Rites with which
 he founded this City; THOU, whom we
 rightly call the *Stay of this City and Em-* 10
pire; Thou shalt repel Him and his Accom-
 plices from thy Altars; from the Temples
 of the other Gods; from the Roofs and the
 Walls of *Rome*; from the Lives and Pro-
 perties of our Citizens: Then shall thy 15
 eternal Vengeance, in Life as in Death, over-
 take all the Foes of the Virtuous; all the
 Enemies of their Country; all the Robbers of
Italy, and all who are linked in the mutual
 Bands of Treason and execrable Conspiracy. 20



THE

Be gone, O Catholic! Be gone, with
 Omen, such as add to an inspired
 executioner's hand, and may we have
 vation to this Country, Boston, Boston,
 tion, and Death to thee, and all the
 cines of thy household, Gail, and Tasha,
 And, O Lord, O Lord, whole Name, Rome,
 an occupied by the same Rites with which
 he founded this City, Tash, whom we
 right call the Day of the City and
 give, then that rebel, then and his
 place from the Alps, from the Temple
 of the other Gods, from the Rites and the
 Walls of Rome, from the Law and the
 perils of our Citizens: I then shall thy
 eternal Vengeance, in life as in Death, over-
 take all the Foes of the Virtuous, all the
 Enemies of this Country, all the Enemies of
 God, and all who are linked in the same
 Bands of Treason and execrable Conspiracy.



T H E
A R G U M E N T.

CATILINE, struck with the last Oration, rose in his Place, and after a plausible submissive Apology, was beginning to rail upon Cicero. The Senate calling him to order, and expressing the utmost Detestation of his Guilt, he thought fit to rush out of Rome, and fly to the Camp of Manlius.

Next Day, Cicero assembled the People, and delivered the following Oration, in which he had two Views; first, to vindicate his Conduct in forcing Catiline from Rome; secondly, to put them upon their Guard, as the Accomplices of Catiline were still within the City.





M. T.

C I C E R O's
S E C O N D
O R A T I O N
A G A I N S T
C A T I L I N E.



5 T length, at length, O Ro-
mans, have we driven, or
dispatched, or convoy'd into
a voluntary Retreat from this
City, *Lucius Catiline*, intoxi-
cated with Insolence, breathing out Guilt, im-
piously meditating the Destruction of his
Country, and threatening you, and this City
with all the Calamities of Fire and Sword.
10 He is gone, he is vanished, he is escaped, he is
fally'd out. No longer now shall that Prodigy,
that

that Monster of Men scheme the Ruin of
 this City, while she harbours him in her
 Bosom. This Ringleader of Rebellion we
 have doubtless quelled. His Dagger is not
 now pointed to our Breasts. Nor shall we 5
 now tremble in the *Field*, in the Forum,
 in the Courts of Public Justice, or within
 the Walls of Domestic Retirement. When
 he left the City, he abandoned his Post;
 and now without Reserve, without the smal- 10
 lest Scruple, may we treat him as an Enemy:
 Great surely must be his Confusion, and
 glorious our Conquest, when we force him
 out of the Character of a Bosom Traitor,
 into that of an Avow'd Rebel. 15

How mortifying, how afflicting, how
 sensibly afflicting may you imagine it to be
 to *Catiline*, that he carried away the Point
 of his Dagger unbath'd in the Blood he 20
 designed to spill; that we liv'd to see him
 retreat; that we wrested the Sword from his
 Hands; that he left our Citizens undestroy'd,
 and our City undemolished. Now, O *Ro-*
mans! he lies in the Dust; now he perceives 25
 himself buffeted and spurn'd, and often,
 with Eyes a-scance, he surveys our City, and
 mourns her Deliverance from his destruc-
 tive Jaws. While, to me, she seems to

assume a gayer Air, since she disgorged, since she flung out that Pestilence. But if there is a Man, who, as every Man ought to do, feels for his Country, yet bitterly accuses me
5 on that very head, on which I now speak with Pride, with Triumph, I mean that I did not rather apprehend, than send away that most formidable Enemy. That, O Romans! is not my Fault, but that of the Juncture. Death
10 and the severest Judgment of his Country, ought long ago to have overtaken *Catiline*: The Practice of our Ancestors, the Justice of our Government, and the Interests of our Country required me to put him to Death.
15 But how many do you imagine were they, who would not believe what I advanced? How many, who from Stupidity, *could not have thought it?* How many would even have taken his Part, and how many would
20 have loved him for his Lewdness? But could I have thought that your Dangers were to cease in his Destruction, I had long since destroy'd *Lucius Catiline*, tho' I had done it at the Hazard, not of my Reputation only,
25 but my Life.

BUT when I plainly saw, that, tho' I could have struck this Blow with your unanimous Consent, which was far from being the Case, and

and given him up to merited Death; yet the Load of Enmity which I must have borne, would have disabled me from prosecuting his Accomplices; I brought the Matter to this Issue, that as I placed the Enemy 5 full in your View, you might without Doubt, and without Diffidence, enter upon vigorous Action. How formidable, how very formidable this Enemy is Abroad, learn, my Countrymen, from this; it gives me Pain and 10 Disquiet to think that he left this City with so thin a Retinue. I wish he had carried off with him his whole Force; he has carried off *Tongillus*, who is reported to have been the Object of his criminal Passion when 15 a Youth; he has carried off *Publicius* and *Munatius*, whose Tavern Scores never could have affected the Government; but of those he has left behind, how important are the Persons, how deep the Debts, how powerful 20 the Interests, and how noble the Birth!

THEREFORE, I hold in utter Contempt, in respect of our *Gallic* Legions, and the Levies which *Quintus Metellus* has made in the 52 Countries of *Ancona* and *Lombardy*, with the Forces we are daily raising, his Army composed of aged Despair, of clownish Debauchery, and rustic Intemperance, of Men,

D 2

who

36 C I C E R O ' s O R A T I O N

who rather chose to fly from their Bail,
 than from their Army; Fellows so unfit
 to stand the Look of an Enemy, that they
 would tremble should one shew them the
 5 Writ of a Prætor. Those whom I perceive
 fluttering in the *Forum*, sauntering about the
 Courts, and even stepping into the Senate-
 House, sleek with Perfumes, and shining in
 Purple: Those I had rather he had carried
 10 out as the Companions of his Arms; if these
 shall remain here, remember that the Deser-
 ters are more formidable than the main Body
 of their Army; and still more so in that,
 tho' they are conscious of my knowing all
 15 their Plots and Schemes, yet they remain cool
 and unconcerned. I can here point out the
 Man to whom *Apulia* is allotted, to whom
Tuscany, to whom *Ancona*, to whom *Lom-*
barby: I can here point you out the Man,
 20 who claimed the Task of betraying our Citi-
 zens to the Sword, and our City to the Flames.
 They are sensible that to me were all the
 Secrets of their last nocturnal Consultation
 divulged: Yesterday I laid them before the
 25 Senate; *Catiline* himself trembled, he fled;
 then why do those tarry? Fatally are they
 mistaken, if they hope for the Continuance,
 the Perpetuity of my former Forbearance.

THE

THE Point I had in View I have now gained, which was to give you ocular Proof of a Conspiracy being formed against your Country ; unless some may imagine that a Man may share in the Vices, and not in the Guilt of *Catiline*. Away with Gentleness, the Juncture calls for Severity : One Point I will even now yield ; let them depart, let them be gone, nor suffer their Leader to languish in their Absence. I'll chalk out the Road, he went by the *Aurelian* Way ; if they make Dispatch, before Night they may reach him.

HAPPY Country, could it be drained of the Impurities of this City ! To me the Absence of *Catiline* alone, seems to have given it fresh Bloom and Beauty. Where is the Villainy, where is the Guilt that can enter into the Heart and Thoughts of Man, and did not enter into his ? In all *Italy* what Poisoner, what Gladiator, what Robber, what Cut-throat, what Parricide, what Forger, what Rascal, what Ruffian, what Debauchee, what Adulterer, what Strumpet, is there found among the Corrupted or Corruptors of our Youth, among the Abandoned of our Country, that did not own an intimate Familiarity with *Catiline* ? For these many Years, where has been the Murder,

der, to which he has not been accessory, where an infamous Rape, and he not an Accomplish'd? Had ever any Man such Talents for debauching Youth as he possesses, 5 who indulged himself in a criminal Flame for others, and others in an infamous Passion for himself. To some he promised the Object of their Lust, to some the Death of their Parents, and not only prompted Desire, but 10 forwarded Enjoyment. At this instant, what a prodigious Number of abandoned Wretches has he got together, not only from the City, but the Country! There is not a Bankrupt, I will not say in *Rome*, but in the 15 remotest Corner of *Italy*, who is not an Associate in this detestable Combination of Guilt.

AND that you may be sensible how he 20 unites in his Person opposing Qualities and differing Characters, there is not in any Fencing-School a Bully more than commonly venturesome, who does not confess an Intimacy with *Catiline*. The Strumpet, 25 and the Stager, ingenious and industrious in every Art of Infamy, dwell on the Remembrance of the jovial Hours they have passed together. Yet this Hero practised in Robberies and in Rapes, while he was dissipating in

in lawless Lusts, the Supplies of Industry,
and the Means of Virtue, was by his Asso-
ciates celebrated for his Fortitude, for his Pa-
tience under Cold, Hunger, Thirst, and
Watchings. 5

WOULD his Companions but follow him,
would his desperate, his profligate Band de-
part from *Rome*; well might I pronounce
ourselves happy, our Country fortunate, and 10
my Consulate glorious! For Mankind has
now attained to an Extravagance of Guilt;
their Crimes appear not now the Crimes of
Men: As they are inhuman, so are they
intolerable. Murders, Burnings, and Rapines, 15
now engross their Thoughts. Their Patri-
monies they have squandered; their For-
tunes they have gormandized away; long
have they been without Money, and now
begin they to be without Credit, while they 20
retain the Rage of Desire, without the
Means of Enjoyment. Did they in their
Revels, and their Gaming, aim only at the
Enjoyment of the Bowl, and the Strumpet,
their Case were indeed desperate, but still 25
might it be borne with; but who can suffer
that the Coward should betray the Brave,
the Witless the Wise, the Sottish the Sober,
the Indolent the Industrious! That lolling

at their Revels, careſſed by Strumpets, crowned with Garlands, beſmeared with Ointments, weakened with Whoring; they ſhould belch in what manner the Virtuous
5 are to fall under their Swords, and this City to ſink under their Flames.

OVER ſuch I hope ſome Fatality is now hanging, and that the Pains long due to their
10 Villainy, their Crimes, their Guilt, their Luſts are now ready, are now either impending or approaching. Theſe, if *my* Conſulate cannot cure, it ſhall be cut off, and thus inſure to this State, not a ſhort, but an
15 extenſive Duration. For there is no Nation whom we dread: There is no Prince in a Condition to attack the People of *Rome*. Abroad, thro' the Courage of one Man, by Land, by Sea, all is Peace. At Home,
20 we are at War; within our Walls, Treason reſides; within them, Danger is ſhut up; within them, an Enemy lurks. With Luxury, with Frenzy, with Guilt, muſt we ſtruggle. In ſuch a War, O *Romans*! I put
25 myſelf at your Head; be it mine to ſtand the Shock of deſperate Malice; to whatever can be cured, will I apply every Means of Cure; but what muſt be cut off, will I not ſuffer to feſter, and to infect the Sound, till
the

the whole State is destroy'd. Let them therefore be gone, or be at rest; but if they are resolv'd to keep at once the City, and their own Sentiments, let them look for what they deserve. 5

SOME, O *Romans*! there are, who affirm, that by me *Catiline* was driven into Exile. Those who say so, could a Word effect it, my Word should send the same Road. So 10 shamefaced, so excessively modest, was the Gentleman, that he was not able to stand the Words of the Consul; no sooner was he commanded into Banishment than he submitted, he obey'd. Yesterday, after I had 15 narrowly escaped being murdered in my own House, I summoned together the Senate in the Temple of Jove *the Stayer*, I laid the whole Affair before the Conscript Fathers; when *Catiline* came thither, did a 20 Senator accost him? Salute him? Or look on him as a desperate Citizen, and not rather as a most outrageous Enemy? Nay, the Chiefs of that Order left that Part of the House, to which he approached, bare and 25 empty.

HERE, I, that furious Consul, whose Word can drive Citizens into Exile, demanded of
Catiline,

42 C I C E R O ' s O R A T I O N

Catiline, Whether he had, or had not been at the House of Marcus Lecca, in a nocturnal Cabal: Excessively bold as he was, when Self-conviction had struck him dumb, I first laid
5 open the whole; the Transactions of that Night, where he had been, what was to be the Business of the next, and instructed the Assembly in all the Dispositions of his future War: While he appeared disconcerted
10 and abashed, I demanded why he doubted to be gone on an Expedition he had so long prepared for; when I knew that he had already dispatched before him, Arms, the Axes, the Badges of Authority, and Trumpets, Mili-
15 tary Ensigns, and that Silver Eagle, to which within his own House he had reared a Shrine of Iniquity. Did I drive into Exile, the Man, who I already saw had entered upon Hostilities? For is it likely that the Cen-
20 turyon, who has pitched his Camp in the Fields of *Fesulae*, declared War against the *Romans* in his own Name; that his Camp does not now expect *Catiline* to become its General, and that he will make *Marseilles*,
25 and not that Camp the Abode of his Exile.

WRETCHED is the Situation attending not only the Government, but the Preservation of a State. Now should *Catiline*,
watched

watched and weakened by my Cares, my
 Counsels, and at my Peril, be suddenly allarm-
 ed, change his Resolution, abandon his Party,
 give up his hostile Designs, and alter his
 Career of Guilt and War into that of Flight 5
 and Banishment: Then it will be said that
 he was not stript by me of every Weapon of
 Insolence; astonished and confounded by my
 Diligence, or driven from all his Hopes into
 Despair; but an uncondemned, an unoffend- 10
 ing Exile, banished by the Power and the
 Threats of a Consul: Should the Conduct
 of *Catiline* be such as I describe, some would
 represent him, not as mischievous, but
 miserable, and me not as a careful Consul, but 15
 an unrelenting Tyrant. Little, O *Romans*!
 does it affect me, that all the Storm of this
 groundless and bitter Malice should break on
 my Head, provided that I can shelter you
 from the Tempest of this dreadful, this un- 20
 natural War. Be it so, that he was driven
 out by me, so he but goes into Banishment;
 but believe me, *Romans*, he will not go;
 tho' I never shall pray to the Immortal Gods,
 that, to take some Part of the Blame from 25
 me, you may hear that *Catiline* is at the
 Head of a hostile Army, and spreading De-
 solation with his Sword: Yet this must you
 hear in three Days; and then my greatest
 Fear

Fear is, that the Time may come when I shall be reproached, not for forcing him to fly, but for suffering him to depart. But if some affirmed that he was forced away,
5 when indeed he went voluntarily, what would they not have said, had he been put to Death.

BUT they who give out that *Catiline* is
10 retiring to *Marseilles*, speak not what they think, but what they fear. There is not a Man among them so tender-hearted, as not to wish him rather with *Manlius*, than at *Marseilles*. But indeed, had he never thought
15 on what he is now executing ; yet would he chose to fall as a Rebel, rather than live as an Exile : But now as nothing has happened, but what he courted and expected, except that I was alive when he left *Rome*, let us rather
20 wish than complain, that he may go into Banishment ?

BUT why do I dwell so long on one Enemy, and an Enemy, who avows himself
25 as such ; an Enemy, whom, as a Wall divides us, as I have often wished it should, I no longer dread : And shall I speak nothing of those disguised Traitors, who remain at *Rome*, and mingle in our Assemblies ; whose
Punish-

Punishment I don't so much aim at, as, if it were possible to be effected, their Cure, and Pardon from their Country? Nor, would they listen to me, do I see any Impossibility in this. For to you, O *Romans!* will I explain 5 of what kind of Men their Forces consists; then shall I, in the best manner I am able, apply to each every Remedy of Advice and Eloquence.

10

THE first Sett consists of those who having great Debts, but still greater Estates, are so much in love with the last, that they don't care to get rid of the first. These, as they are Men of Substance, are specious in 15 Shew and Appearance, but shameless in their Ends and Intentions. Dost thou possess, art thou gay, in a Land-Estate, fine Houses, rich Plate, a numerous Retinue? In short, dost thou wallow in all the Comforts, all the Superfluities of Life, yet grudge to take from thy Wealth, that thou mayst add to thy Reputation? What dost thou look for? For War? And dost thou imagine that thy Estate shall be unviolated amidst universal Desolation. A Bill of Insolvency? They are 25 mistaken, who look for that from *Catiline*. I shall give my Assistance to bring in a Bill; but it shall be a Bill of Sale; and this is the only

only Measure by which such of them as possess Property can possibly be preserved from Ruin ; and had they sooner agreed to it, nor foolishly run out their Estates in
5 Mortgages, we should at this Day have seen them both richer Men, and better Citizens. But I am far from thinking this Class formidable ; because it is possible to persuade them into right ; or if they continue ob-
10 stinate, to me their Country appears to be in more Danger from their Prayers, than their Arms.

THE next Sett consists of those, who
15 tho' deep in Debt, yet aspire at Power ; they want to be at the Helm, and think in the Storm of Government to acquire those Honours they despair of in its Calm. To these I shall give the same Advice, as to the
20 rest, which is to give over Thoughts of obtaining what they aim at. In the first Place, I myself am watchful, active, and provident for the public Interest ; then there is on the Side of the Virtuous amongst us, great Courage,
25 great Unanimity, large Numbers, and a fine Army. In short, I trust that the Immortal Gods will immediately interpose against such Russian Guilt, in favour of this invincible People ; this glorious Empire, and lovely
City.

City. Had they attained to the End of all
 their frantic, their eager Wishes, did they
 hope to spring up Consuls, Dictators, or
 Kings from the Ashes of this City, from the
 Blood of her Citizens, which they wickedly, 5
 which they treacherously conspired to spill?
 Don't they foresee, that even though they
 should succeed in their Confederacy of Guilt,
 yet that they must be overtopped by some
 Scoundrel, or Gladiator in the Objects of 10
 their Ambition.

A third Kind is of advanced Age, but
 hardened Vigor: Such is *Manlius* himself,
 who now gives Place to *Catiline*. These are 15
 of the Colonies, which *Sylla* planted at *Fæ-*
fulæ; which I am sensible in the main
 consist of the bravest of Men, and the best of
 Citizens. But these are Planters, who getting
 more Money than they either expected or 20
 knew how to manage, run out their For-
 tunes in Riot and Excess. These, while they
 build like LORDS, while they indulge upon
 their Estates, in their Sedans, amidst their
 great Retinue and sumptuous Entertainments, 25
 have plunged themselves so deep in Debt, that
 in order to retrieve their Affairs, they must
 have some *Sylla* conjured up from the Shades
 of Death. And these have persuaded into their
 once

successful Scheme of Rapine, some poor needy Clowns among themselves. Both these, O *Romans*! I place under the same Head of Robbers and Plunderers. But my
5 Advice to them is, that they would awaken from their frantic Dreams of Dictatorships and Proscriptions. For the Calamities of the Times when these prevailed have so galled the State, that not Men only, but even
10 Beasts, would refuse again to submit to the Yoak.

THE fourth is a motly, mixt, and mutinous Kind. Long have they been deprest,
15 never will they rise; thro' Indolence, Mismanagement and Extravagance, they now droop beneath a Load of antient Debt; they are quite teased out of their Lives by Arrests, Judgments, and Executions; and
20 I hear that in great Numbers they resort both from City and Country to the Enemy's Camp. Such I don't so much take to be keen Fighters, as indolent Shufflers; if they can't stand on their own Legs, let them drop
25 down; but so gently that the Shock may be unperceived, not by the Public only, but by their nearest Neighbour. For I cannot comprehend why, if they cannot live with Honour, they should desire to die with Infamy;

famy; or why they should imagine it less Pain to die in Company, than to fall by themselves.

THE fifth Kind is a Collection of Parricides, Cut-throats, and thorough-paced Villains under all Denominations. These I shall not envy to *Catiline*; he and they are inseparable; and even let them perish in their own Robberies, since their Number is too great to be confined within our Prisons. 5

I come now to those who are not only the last in my List, but the last of Mankind in Life and Morals: These are the Life-Guard, the Partners of the Bed and the Bosom of *Catiline*, and appropriated to him; these beardless or bearded, you see with curled Locks, and blooming Complexions; in full Dress, in flowing Robes, and wearing Mantles instead of Gowns, the Labours of whose Life, and the Toils of whose Vigilance, are only seen in the Midnight-Revel. 15 20

UNDER this Class are ranked Gamesters, Whoremasters, the Lewd, and the Lustful of every Kind. These soft insinuating Youths, practised in the amorous Arts of either Sex, know to sing, to dance, nay, on Vol. II. E occasion,

occasion, they can aim the murdering Dagger,
 and spice the envenomed Bowl. 'Tis not
 enough that *Catiline* shall fall; for unless
 these depart, unless they die, believe me, that
 5 in this State we shall have a Nursery of rising
Catlines. But what do these Wretches mean?
 Can they carry their Wenches along with
 them into the Camp? Yet can they be
 without them these cold dreary Nights?
 10 How can they bear the *Appenine*, its biting
 Frosts and Snow? Unless they imagine
 that the dancing naked at Revels has
 hardened them to endure the Severities of
 the Season. A formidable War, I must
 15 needs say, since the Household-Troops of
 our Capital Enemy consist of shameless
 Strumpets!

AGAINST these gallant Forces of *Catiline*,
 20 put now, O *Romans*! your Guards, your
 Garrisons, and your Troops in *Array*: And
 first, to that bruised and battered Gladiator op-
 pose your Consuls and Generals; next, against
 25 that expelled, extenuated Crew, whose For-
 tunes are shipwrecked, draw out the Flower,
 the Strength of all *Italy*.

AND now shall the Ramparts of your
 Colonies, and your free'd Cities be opposed to
 the

the woodland, and the rustic Works of *Catiline*. But here I ought to run the Parallel no further, nor compare your other Troops, your Trophies, and your Towers, to the Nakedness and Necessity of that Robber. 5
 Waving all Considerations arising from Things of which we are provided, and he destitute; such as the Senate, the Knights, the People, the Treasure, and the Revenues of *Rome*, all *Italy*, whole Provinces, *foreign* 10
 Nations; if, I say, waving all these, we shall ballance the very Circumstances of the opposing Parties; from that we can form a true Notion where the Superiority must be. Here
 Regard to Virtue opposes Insensibility of 15
 Shame, Purity Pollution, Integrity Injustice, Virtue Villainy, Resolution Rage, Dignity Defilement, Regularity Riot; on one Side are ranged Equity, Temperance, Courage, Prudence, and every Virtue; on the other, 20
 Iniquity, Luxury, Cowardice, Rashness, with every Vice; lastly, the Struggle lies between Wealth and Want, the Dignity, and the Degeneracy of Reason; the Force, and the Frenzy of the Soul between well-grounded 25
 Hope, and widely-extended Despair. In such a Strife, in such a Struggle as this, even tho' the Zeal of Men were wanting, must not the Immortal Gods give such shining

Virtues the Superiority over so great, and such complicated Vices?

SINCE such, O *Romans*! is our Situation,
 5 do you, as I have already advised, each of you, provide for your domestic Security by Ward and Watching. I have taken Care, I have provided effectually, that the Peace of the City shall be kept without alarming you,
 10 and without Riot within the Walls: Your Planters, and the Inhabitants of your municipal Cities, advised by me of *Catiline's* nocturnal Excursion, will easily defend their own Possessions and Cities. The Gladiators,
 15 his strongest, and, as he thought, his most trusty Band, and indeed, much honefter Men than some Patricians I could name, shall be curbed by our Power. *Quintus Metellus*, whom, upon my foreseeing this Event,
 20 I had sent into *Ancona* and *Lombardy*, shall either destroy the Traitor, or baffle all his Motions, and all his Measures. As to other Matters, in what manner these are to be regulated, to be conducted and executed, we
 25 are now to consult the Senate, whom you see assembling.

As for those who are left within this City, and left by *Catiline* for its Destruction,
 and

and your Confusion, tho' they are Enemies,
yet still are they our natural Fellow-Citizens,
and as such, will I give them my repeated
Admonitions. If my Lenity has hitherto
seemed inclinable to Weakness, it was with 5
a View that this latent Corruption might
be discharged. But now can I no longer for-
get that this is my native Soil, that to these
I am Consul, that I must spend my Life
among my Countrymen, or lay it down for 10
my Country; the Gate is without a Guard,
and upon the Road lies no Ambush, they
who incline to depart, may do as they think
fit; but among those who remain in the
City, should any one create, should he at- 15
tempt, should he so much as seem to aim at
the least Disturbance, and be discovered by
me, he shall be sensible, that within her
Walls are vigilant Consuls, active Magistrates,
keen Swords, a brave Senate, and a Dungeon; 20
that Scene in which our Ancestors thought
proper to punish unnatural Guilt and avowed
Rebellion.

ROMANS, all this shall be so transacted,
that the greatest Events shall be brought 25
about without Disturbance; the most im-
minent Dangers averted, without Alarm;
and an intestine, a domestic War, more ex-
tensive, and more cruel, than the oldest now

alive can remember, without my laying aside these peaceful Robes, shall by me be conducted and quelled. All this, O *Romans*! will I manage so, that, if there is a Possibility
5 of avoiding it, not a single Rebel shall within, the Walls of this City, be punished for his Guilt. But if the Hand of avowed Infelice, if the Dangers of my suffering Country shall tear me from this Gentleness of Dis-
10 position; yet shall I so order it beyond what is even to be hoped for in a Rebellion, so far spread, and so artfully covered, that no worthy Man shall fall, and the Punishment of a few shall place you above all Dread or Dan-
15 ger.

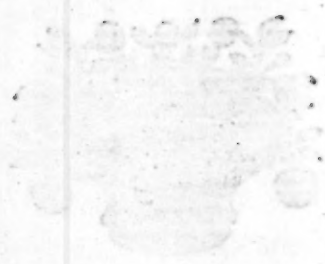
THESE Things, O *Romans*! I promise you, not relying on my own Prudence, or human Policy, but repeated, infallible Inti-
20 mations of the Immortal Gods. Their Protection gives me this Hope, and their Presence inspires me with this Resolution. These Gods, I say, no longer at a Distance, as when attacked by a *foreign* and a remote
25 Enemy, but here in their own Persons, by their immediate Power and Providence, defend their own Temples, and the Habitations of *Rome*; and you, my Countrymen, ought to put up your Prayers, your
Vows

Vows and Supplications, that this City
which they have endued with Power, with
Majesty, with Strength, they may defend
from the unnatural Guilt of her degenerate
Sons, to the utter Confusion of all her Ene- 5
mies by Sea and Land.



THE CATTLE

Now and again, the cattle
which they have found with
them, with strength, they may defend
them from the cattle of the
State to the cattle of the State
and to the cattle of the State.



THE



THE
A R G U M E N T.

THE Conspiracy having been detected, Cicero summoned an Assembly of the Roman People, and in the following Oration laid before them the Particulars of the Discovery; and exhorts them to celebrate a Thanksgiving to the Gods, which had been decreed by the Senate, in his Honour, for the Preservation of Rome and her Citizens.

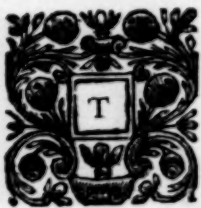


M.



M. T.

C I C E R O's
T H I R D
O R A T I O N
A G A I N S T
C A T I L I N E.



5 O Day you behold, O *Romans* !
your Country, your Lives, your
Liberties, your Properties, your
Wives and Children, this au-
gust Seat of Empire, this fair,
this flourishing City, preserved and restored
to you, by the distinguishing Love of the
Immortal Gods, ever watchful for your Wel-
fare ; and by means of my Toils, my Coun-
10 sels, my Dangers, rescued from Fire and
Sword ;

Sword ; nay, let me add, out of the Jaws
of impending Fate.

AND if the Days of our Preservation are
equally joyous, equally distinguished, as that 5
of our Birth ; because the Pleasure of De-
liverance is certain, but the Tenure of living
precarious ; on our Deliverance we reflect
with Delight ; in our Birth we exist without
Consciousness ; believe me, since our Grati- 10
tude has made the Name of the Founder of
Rome immortal as the Gods ; the Man who
saved the same City, with all its Accessions of
Strength and Wealth, ought by you and
your Posterity to be revered : For by me 15
were those Flames, that were ready to in-
wrap the Temples, the Domes, the Dwellings,
and the Walls of this City, extinguished ; by
me, was the Dagger, when pointed at the
Bosom of your Country, blunted ; and the 20
Weapons aimed at your Throats were by
me averted. All these Circumstances, as they
have already been explained, laid open, and
proved by me before the Senate, I will now,
Romans, in a few Words, express to you, that 25
you may be no longer, as hitherto, at a loss to
comprehend how important, and how evi-
dent they are, by what means traced out,
and in what manner discovered,

IN

IN the first Place, ever since *Catiline*, a few Days ago, broke out of the City, and had left the Accomplices of his Treason, with the boldest Ringleaders in this Rebellion at
5 *Rome*; the End of all my Vigilance, of all my Care, has been, how we might be best secured from such Variety of Danger, from such a Mine of Mischief; for when I threw *Catiline* out of *Rome*, (for I now dread no
10 Reproach from that Word; all I have now to fear is, from his being suffered to depart alive,) as I aimed at pulling his Conspiracy up by the Roots, I was in Hopes, that he would either be followed by the rest of his
15 Associate Crew; or that they who remained, must be disabled and disconcerted thro' his Absence. And as I perceived, that the most bold and bloody of all the Conspiracy remained here at *Rome*; my painful Endeavours by Day and Night were, that I might
20 come at the Knowledge, the Proof of their Intentions and Actions: That since you could not reconcile the Enormity of their Guilt to your Belief, and therefore inclined
25 to distrust what I said, I disposed Matters in such a manner, as to unite you all in the Means of your Safety, by proving to your strongest Conviction, the Imminence of your Danger. As soon, therefore, as I found that
Publius

Publius Lentulus had been tampering with the Commissioners of the *Allobroges*, in order to kindle a War beyond the *Alps*, and create Commotions in *Gaul*, and that they had been sent to their Countrymen with a Commission to communicate on the Road their Credentials and Instructions to *Catiline*; that *Vulturcius* was sent to attend them, and that they had likewise entrusted him with Letters for *Catiline*, I thought I had now a fair Opportunity of giving the most entire Satisfaction to myself, to the Senate, and to you, with regard to this Conspiracy, a matter of the utmost Difficulty, and the frequent Subject of my fervent Prayers to the immortal Gods.

YESTERDAY, therefore, I sent for the Prætors, *Lucius Flaccus* and *Caius Pomtinus*, Men of great Courage, and true Patriotism. To them I discovered the Affair, and signify'd my Commands. They, as they glow with every great, with every glorious Sentiment for their Country, without doubt, or delay, undertook the Business; and about the Evening, privately repaired towards the *Milvan* Bridge; where they so disposed of themselves in the neighbouring Farms, that the *Tyber* and the Bridge lay betwixt them.

These

These likewise drew together to the same Ground a great many brave Men, unsuspected by any; and I dispatched from the Prefecture of *Reate*, a Number of chosen Youths armed
 5 with Swords, whose Assistance I never fail to make use of in the public Service. In the mean time, the third Watch being almost spent, the Commissioners of the *Allobroges*, with *Vulturcius* began to enter upon the
 10 Bridge, with a great Retinue, where our Band attacked them; both Parties drew their Swords; the Prætors alone were in the Secret, the others were not. Then upon the coming up of *Pomtinus* and *Flaccus*, the
 15 Skirmish ended; and all the Letters they had among them were delivered up, sealed as they were, to the Prætors; and their own Persons being seized, they were all of them brought before me, towards the Dawn of
 20 Day. I summoned before me *Cimber* *Gabinus*, that Arch-Plotter in all their wicked Conspiracies, without his suspecting how Matters went. *Lucius Statilius* was then brought in; then *Cethegus*; and then came
 25 *Lentulus*, but a long Time after, because I suppose, the Night before, he had sat up unusually late in making out the Dispatches.

WHEN

WHEN many of the greatest and most considerable Men in *Rome*, upon hearing the News, came to me in the Morning, they were of Opinion, that I should open the Letters, before I submitted the Affair to the Senate, lest, if nothing was found in them, I should be blamed for too rashly giving so great an Alarm to the City. This I refused to comply with ; because as the Danger was public, so the Deliberation upon the Affair, untouched as it was, ought to be public likewise. For I considered, that even tho' it should appear, I was misinformed, I had no Reason to dread any Reflections for my over-diligence in Matters that bore so dangerous an Aspect to the State. I then speedily summoned, as you saw, a full House of the Senate: In the mean Time, by a Hint from the *Allobroges*, I dispatched that brave Prætor, *Caius Sulpitius*, to remove any Arms, that might be in the House of *Cethegus*, from whence he accordingly carried a very great Number of Swords and Daggers.

I brought in *Vulturcius*, without the *Gauls*, before the Senate, and by their Commands, to him I plighted the public Faith, exhorting him, without Fear, or Reserve, to speak out all he knew. Scarce was he recovered

covered from his Fright, when he declared that he had Instructions and Letters from *Lentulus* to *Catiline*, advising him to arm the Slaves, and march directly up to the City
5 with his Army, with this View, that when they had set Fire to every Quarter of the City, in their several Stations and Posts, and entered upon the general Massacre, he might be upon the Spot, to cut off those who fled,
10 and to act in Conjunction with these City-Commanders.

AND then the *Gauls* being brought in declared, that an Oath had been plighted to
15 themselves, and Letters given them to be communicated to their Constituents, by *Publius Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and *Statilius*, and that they had it in Commission from them, and *Lucius Cassius*, instantly to dispatch their Ca-
20 valry into *Italy*, they being in no want of Foot ; that *Lentulus* had assured them from the *Sibylline* Predictions, and the Answers of the Sooth-sayers, of his being infallibly the Third of the Name of *Cornelius*, who was
25 to be the Sovereign and Commander of this City ; that the Prediction was already so far fulfilled in the Persons of *Sylla*, and *Cinna*, both of that Name ; that he farther declared, this Year being the Tenth from
the

the Acquittal of the Virgins, and the Twentieth from the Burning of the Capitol, was to be the critical Period for the Destruction of this City and Empire. They added to this Evidence, that there was a Dispute betwixt *Cetbegus*, and the other Conspirators; because some, with *Lentulus*, were of Opinion, that the Massacre, and the Burning of the City should be fixed on the *Saturnalia*, which, in *Cetbegus's* Opinion, was too late.

At last, *Romans*, to be as short as possible, I ordered the Letters, which each of them were said to write, to be produced. In the first Place, I shewed to *Cetbegus*, his own Seal; he owned it to be his; I cut the Thread; I read. There was it wrote with his own Hand, "That he would act by the Senate, and the People of the *Allobroges*, as he had promised to their Commissioners; intreating them to perform whatever their Commissioners should lay before them." Then *Cetbegus*, who a little before had pretended to excuse himself on account of the Swords and Daggers found at his House, by saying that he had been ever curious about *Blades of good Metal*, upon hearing the Letters read, appeared

dismay'd, confounded, self-convicted, and of a sudden was struck dumb. *Statilius* was then brought in; he owned his Hand and Seal; his Letters, almost to the same Purpose as the others, were read to him; he confessed all. I then shewed to *Lentulus* his own Letters, and demanded if he knew the Seal. He seemed to own that he did. "You have, said I, good Reason; the Seal is well
10 " known; it is the Head of your illustrious
" Grandfather; whose sole Passion was
" the Love of his Country, and his Country-
" men; the very Sight methinks of such a
" Head, ought to have deterr'd you from the
15 " Perpetration of such enormous Guilt."
His Letter to the Senate, and People of the *Allobroges*, was in the like manner read. I indulged him in saying what he had a Mind on that Subject. At first, indeed, he
20 stood on his Innocence; but soon after, the whole Information being opened and declared, he rose up; he demanded of the *Gauls*, what Business he had with them to bring them to his House, and he put the
25 same Question to *Vulturcius*. When they answered him in short and unvarying Terms; by whose Means, and how often they had been at his House, and demanded of him in their turn, whether he had talked nothing to them
about

about the *Sibylline* Predictions: Then distracted with Guilt, he gave a sudden Proof how powerful Conscience is. For tho' he might have braved it out, yet, contrary to what every Body thought, he at once confessed it. Thus, not only his ready Wit and voluble Tongue, for which he was always remarkable, but even his Impudence and Audacity, in which he has been ever unrivalled, yielded to the Force of confounded 10 and convicted Guilt.

BUT *Vulturcius* of a sudden demands that the Letters, delivered to him from *Lentulus* to *Catiline*, should be produced and 15 opened. Here, tho' *Lentulus* was struck with the utmost Confusion, yet did he own his Hand and Seal: The Letters however were wrote without any Subscription, in the following Terms; WHO I AM, YOU WILL 20 LEARN FROM THE BEARER; SEE YOU ACT LIKE A MAN; REFLECT TO WHAT A PASS YOU ARE NOW ADVANCED; CONSIDER WHAT IS NECESSARY FOR YOU TO DO, AND TAKE CARE TO STRENGTHEN 25 YOURSELF WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ALL, EVEN THE MEANEST.

GABINIUS was next brought in, and tho' he at first answered with great Impudence, yet in the Event he deny'd none of the Circumstances, urged against him by the *Gauls*.
 5 And to me, O *Romans*! tho' the Letters Seals, Hands, and lastly, their several Confessions, were strong and convincing Evidences of their Guilt; yet were these Evidences rendered still more strong by their
 10 Looks, their Air, their Features, and their Silence. For with such Astonishment were they struck, so strongly were their Eyes riveted to the Ground, and with such guilty Consciousness did they sometimes steal a
 15 Look of one another, that they did not now look like Men informed against by others, but betray'd by themselves.

THE Informations, O *Romans*! being
 20 laid open and declared, I put the Question to the Senate, *what they thought proper to be done, at a Juncture so critical to the very Being of the State*. The Voices of the leading Men were for severe and resolute
 25 Measures; these the Senate gave into without the least Variation. And as their Determination is not yet engrossed, I shall, my Countrymen, as well as I can recollect, lay before you the Resolutions of the Senate.

IN

IN the first place, I had the Thanks of the House in the strongest Terms, for having delivered the State from the most imminent Dangers, by my Courage, my Conduct, and Foresight. Then the Prætors, 5 *Lucius Flaccus* and *Caius Pomtinus* had their just and merited Share of Praise for having so bravely and faithfully executed what I had given them in Charge; nor was my brave Colleague forgot in the Thanks of 10 the Order; for removing from his own and the public Councils the Accomplices in this Conspiracy. They then came to a Resolution, that *Publius Lentulus*, after having divested himself of the Prætorship, should 15 be delivered into Custody: The like Sentence was passed upon *Caius Cethegus*, *Lucius Stai-tilius*, *Publius Gabinus*, who were all present; the like upon *Lucius Cassius*, who had solicited the Commission of firing the City; 20 upon *Marcus Cæparius*, to whom, as it appeared, *Apulia* was allotted for raising the Shepherds; upon *Publius Furius*, one of the Planters, whom *Lucius Sylla* had settled at *Fesulæ*; upon *Quintus Manlius Chilo*, who 25 was joined with the same *Furius*, in all Applications made to the *Allobroges*; against *Publius Umbrenus*, the Son of a Freed-Man,

and who it was proved first introduced the
Gauls to Gabinius.

Now the Senate, O *Romans!* proceeded
5 with this Lenity, upon the Supposition, that
the Republic being preserved from so dan-
gerous a Conspiracy, from such Strength, and
such Numbers of inbred Enemies, by the
Punishment of only nine desperate Men, the
10 Minds of others might be cured. And fur-
ther, my Countrymen, upon my Account a
solemn Thanksgiving to the Immortal Gods
for their remarkable Favours was decreed:
The first Instance, since the Building of
15 *Rome*, of such an Honour being done to one
who acted without laying aside the Robes of
Peace. And their Decree was in the follow-
ing Terms: *Because I had delivered the City
from the Flames, the Citizens from Slaughter,*
20 *and Italy from War.* An Honour, my
Countrymen, which, if compared with
others of the same kind, this Difference will
be found, that theirs were decreed for their
successfully serving, mine for happily saving,
25 the State. That which required our first
Cares has been dispatched and executed.
For *Publius Lentulus*, tho' from the Infor-
mation being proved, and his own Con-
fession, the Senate had adjudged him to have
forfeited

forfeited not only the Authority of a Prætor, but the Privileges of a Citizen, divested himself of his Magistracy; that we might not entertain the least Scruple, in punishing a *Roman* Magistrate, in the Person of a private 5 Man, a Point to which the illustrious *C. Marius* had no regard when he put to death the Prætor *Caius Glaucias*, against whom nothing had been expressly decreed.

19

Now, O *Romans*! as you have in Custody and Prison the unnatural Leaders of this detestable and dangerous Rebellion, you ought to conclude that all the Forces of *Catiline*, that all his Strength and Hopes, these Dan- 15 gers of your Country being thus averted, have failed. Indeed, *Romans*, when I drove him from the City, this I foresaw, that when *Catiline* was removed, I had no reason to be afraid of the drowsy *Lentulus*, the cor- 20 pulent *Cassius*, nor the furiously rash *Cetbegus*. He of all these was most to be feared; but no longer than while he remained within the Walls of this City. He knew every thing; he had Access to every Body; he had both 25 Abilities and Boldness to accost, to tempt, and to sollicit; he had a Head turned for any Undertaking, and a Tongue and Hand proper to support what his Head projected.

For performing certain Enterprizes he had certain and selected Agents; nor did he ever think that his bare Commands could carry any thing into complete Execution. There was
5 nothing too hard for his Activity, for his Vigilance or Fatigue; Hunger, Thirst, and Cold, he could undergo. Had I not driven a Man so keen, so ready, so bold, so crafty, in Treason so vigilant, in desperate Circumstances
10 so active, from Conspiracy within these Walls into Rebellion in the Fields, let me speak, O *Romans*! as I think, it had not been easy to repel such a Weight of Woe from falling on your Heads. He would not have fixed
15 the *Saturnalia*, as the *Æra* of our Destruction, nor have so long beforehand determined the very Date of Perdition and Ruin to this State; nor have ordered Matters so, that when it came to the push, his
20 own Seal and Letters should be brought as Evidences of his detected Treason. Yet in his Absence, has all this been effected, and in such a Manner too, as that never was any Domestic Felony so plainly detected as this
25 important Conspiracy against the Public has been detected and exposed. But if *Catiline* had remained in the City till this Day, in such a Case, tho' I had still prevented and disconcerted all his Plots, yet still at last
must

must we have come to Blows, and while such a Bosom Traitor remained within our Walls, never could we have delivered the Government from such threatening Dangers, with so much Peace, so much Tranquillity, and so much Quiet. 5

BUT all these Transactions, my Countrymen, were managed by me in such a Manner, that they seemed to be directed by the Will, and conducted by the Wisdom of the Immortal Gods. This we may conjecture, as well from the apparent Impossibility of such amazing Events being brought about by human Foresight, as from their immediate and almost visible Aid and Assistance, in the late critical Conjunctions. For to say nothing of those nocturnal Effulgences, which beamed in the West, and the Heavens appearing all in a Blaze; to pass over the Thundering and Earthquakes, with the other many Prodigies which have happened in our Consulate, which seemed like the Language of the Gods predicting what has now happened, This, O *Romans*! which I am now to mention, ought neither to be omitted nor neglected. 10 15 20 25

SURELY

SURELY you may remember, that under the Consulate of *Cotta* and *Torquatus*, a great Number of *Turrets* in the Capitol were struck by Lightning; that the Images of the
5 Immortal Gods were likewise overthrown, the Statues of ancient *Romans* overturned, and the brazen Tables of the Laws melted down; even *Romulus*, the Founder of this City was scorched, that gilded Statue, which
10 you may remember to have seen in the Capitol, representing him an Infant, sucking, and reaching at the Dugs of the She-Wolf. At that time the Soothsayers from all *Tuscany* were assembled, and declared that *Massacres*
15 and *Burnings*, the Extinction of the Laws, a War Civil and Domestic, with the Fall of this City and her Empire, were at hand, unless the Gods, appeased by all the Means of Devotion, should interpose their Providence
20 to bend in some Measure the Destinies themselves. Upon their Answer, Plays were celebrated for ten Days, nor was any Method of appeasing the Gods omitted. The same Soothsayers ordered a larger Statue of *Ju-*
25 *piter* to be erected on a conspicuous Place; and contrary to its former Posture, to face the East. They likewise declared that they hoped, if that Statue, as you now behold it, should at once face the rising Sun, the
Forum

Forum, and this Senate-House, the Treasons privately hatched against the Welfare of this City and Empire, should be rendered so conspicuous as to be seen thro' by the Senate, and the People of *Rome*. The Consuls then 5 ordered the Statue to be erected in the Manner prescribed; but so slowly did the Work go forward, that it was not erected before this Day, either by our Predecessors in Office or ourselves. 10

CAN there now, O *Romans*! live a Man so forsaken of Truth, of such confirmed Obstinacy, of such mental Blindness as to affirm that all we see, and especially this City, is not 15 under the immediate Guidance and Government of the Immortal Gods. For when the Soothsayers thus by their Answers pronounced that *Massacres, Burnings*, the Ruin of this State, were then devising, and all by 20 means of her unnatural Citizens, the Enormity of Guilt rendered the Prediction to some incredible; yet you perceive that all this has been by flagitious Citizens, not only devised, but attempted. Have we not before 25 our Eyes an Instance, which seems to have been effected by the Direction of Jove the BEST and GREATEST, in that, when by my Commands the Conspirators, and the Informers

mers against them, were this Morning led thro' the *Forum* into the *Temple* of *Concord*, at that very instant this Statue was erecting ! Upon its being erected, upon its being made
5 to face you and the Senate ; to you and the Senate, every traiterous Design against the public Safety was instantly detected and exposed. They therefore are worthy of the greater Degree, both of Detestation and
10 Punishment, who endeavoured to wrap in fatal and unnatural Flames, not only your Habitations and Roofs, but even the Temples and Fanes of the Immortal Gods; and Presumption, intolerable Presumption were
15 it in me to affirm, that thro' Me their Purposes were defeated. No ; it was that Jove, that Jove himself, who opposed them. To his Pleasure was it owing that the Capitol, to him that those Temples, to him that this
20 City, to him that all of you are preserved. It was therefore, O *Romans* ! the directing Providence of the Immortal Gods, that inspired me with such Resolution and Foresight, and conducted me to these important,
25 these convincing Discoveries.

Now as to this practising on the *Allobroges* ; had not the Immortal Gods deprived *Lentulus*, and our other Domestic Enemies,

Enemies, of Prudence to direct their consummate Audacity; never would they so madly have committed to Strangers and Barbarians Affairs of such Importance, nor, believe me, intrusted them with their Letters. 5
For can it be supposed that *Gauls*, the Subjects of a disaffected State, a State, the only one perhaps which now seems to retain both the Abilities and Inclinations to make War with *Rome*, would have slighted the Prospect 10
of Independency, and the greatest Advantages, when the voluntary Offers of *Roman* Patricians; or to their own Power, would they have preferred our Preservation? Can you imagine, that this hath been effected without the Fin- 15
ger of Heaven; especially as they might have conquered us, not by handling their Arms, but holding their Tongues?

THEREFORE, O *Romans*! since a 20
Thanksgiving is decreed before all the *Sbrines* of the Gods, celebrate ye with your Wives and Children those Days of your Deliverance: Many and merited are the Proofs of Gratitude, which we owe to the Immortal 25
Gods; but surely never were they paid with greater Justice than now. From dismal, from detestable Ruin are you snatched, and snatched without Slaughter, without Blood,
without

without an Army, without a Skirmish. In your peaceful Robes, I, in my peaceful Robes, your sole Conductor and Commander, have you obtained Victory. For, O my *Romans!*
 5 call to mind all your civil Disputes, not only those you have heard of, but those which you yourselves remember, and have seen. *Lucius Sylla* destroy'd *Publius Sulpitius*. He threw out of the City *Caius Marius*, the
 10 Guardian of *Rome*, and partly drove out of this State, and partly put to Death many brave Men. *Cneius Octavius*, the Consul, expelled with Arms his Colleague out of the City, while this Place was choaked with the
 15 Bodies and Blood of Citizens. *Cinna* with *Marius* then prevailed; and then was it that the very Lights of your Country were put out by the Deaths of her most illustrious Men. *Sylla*, afterwards avenged himself of
 20 this cruel Victory, needless is it for me to relate with what Diminution of our Citizens, with what Calamity to our Country. *Marcus Lepidus* had a Difference with the brave and the illustrious *Quintus Catulus*,
 25 which ended in his Ruin; nor was that so afflicting to the Public, as was the Ruin of others; yet, O *Romans!* all these Differences were of such a Nature, as tended not to an Abolition, but an Alteration of our Govern-
 ment.

ment. The Authors did not intend that no Government should exist, but that they themselves should be leading Men in that which should prevail; they desired not to see *Rome* in Flames, but themselves powerful 5 in *Rome*. Yet were all these Differences, of which none tended to an Extinction of the State, of such a Nature, that they were determined, not by an Accomodation of Interests, but by a Massacre of Citizens. But 10 in this War, a War, the greatest and fiercest that any Age has known, such a War as even Barbarity itself never waged within its own Dominions, a War in which *Lentulus*, *Catiline*, *Cassius* and *Cethegus* made it a ruling 15 Principle, that all who could reconcile their own Safety to that of the City, should be refused Quarter. In this War, O *Romans*! I have so behaved myself, that you are all preserved untouched. And tho' your Enemies 20 imagined that there should remain but just as many *Romans* as should be saved from general Massacre, and as much of *Rome* as should be unincircled by Flames; yet have I preserved your Persons and City still untouched 25 and unharmed.

FOR these mighty Events, O *Romans*! I demand of you no Reward of Virtue; no
Badge

Badge of Distinction; no Monument of
 Glory: All I require is the eternal Com-
 memoration of this Day. In your Minds I
 desire that all my Triumphs, that all my
 5 Trophies of Glory, that all my Badges of
 Distinction, should be reared and deposited.
 Whatever is without Expression, whatever
 without Utterance, whatever of this kind,
 in short, that can be compassed by Men of
 10 inferior Merit, has for me no Charms.
 In your Remembrance, O *Romans*! shall my
 Actions be cherished, on your Tongues shall
 they grow, and on your Records shall they
 arrive at Maturity and Strength; and the
 15 same Day, if I am not deceived, which
 brought Deliverance to this City, which I
 hope will be eternal, shall transmit to all
 Posterity the Remembrance of my Con-
 sulate; and that at the same Period two Citizens
 20 lived under this Government, one who fixed
 the Limits of YOUR Empire, not to the
 Extent of Earth, but of Heaven; and one
 who preserved the Habitation, and the Seat
 of that Empire.

25 BUT as the Fortune and Circumstances
 of my Actions are different from those of
 your Generals who conduct your *foreign*
 Wars, in as much as I must live with those
 whom

whom I have conquered and subdued, while these leave their Enemies either dead or enthralled, it is your Business, O *Romans*! to take care, that if the meritorious Actions of others are advantageous to them, mine 5 may never prove detrimental to me. I have taken care that the guilty and flagitious Intentions of these presumptuous Wretches should not affect you; it is your Part to take care that they never may affect me. 10 Yet, O my Countrymen! never can my Enemies hurt my Person. Strong is the Protection of the Good, a Protection of which I am for ever assured; great is my Dignity in the Republic, my continual and 15 silent Defender; and great the Power of Conscience, which whoever shall slight must betray themselves, while they attempt to injure me.

20

SUCH a Spirit, O *Romans*! is likewise in me, that not only will I bear up against all the Attempts of Audacity, but even provoke and attack all the Profligate themselves. But if the whole Force of domestic Ene- 25 mies, when repelled from you, shall be pointed against my single Person, it belongs to you, O *Romans*! to reflect, upon what Terms you put those, who for the future

82 C I C E R O's O R A T I O N, &c.

shall for your Preservation expose themselves to Malignity and Danger of every kind.

As for myself, what can I further acquire
5 towards the Enjoyment of Life, especially
as I see no higher Step of Promotion either
in Dignity flowing from you, or in Glory
derived from Virtue ; at least, none that I
should wish to ascend. This, O *Romans* !
10 will I certainly effect: In my private Capacity, I will protect and grace whatever I
have acted in my Consular; that if Malice
is incurred from preserving the State, it may
prove hurtful to the Malicious, but condu-
15 cive to my Glory. In short, I shall behave
so in the Republic, as ever to keep in Memory my past Actions, and to take care that
they may appear not the Effects of Chance,
but of Virtue. You, O my Countrymen!
20 since it is now Night, worship that Jove
who is the Guardian of you and this City;
retire to your Dwellings; and tho' the Danger
is now repelled, yet set the same Watch
and Ward over your Houses this Night as
25 you did the last: That you may have no occasion
to do it longer, but be able hereafter to
live in uninterrupted Peace, I, my good
Countrymen, will take care.

T H E



THE A R G U M E N T.

THE following Speech was pronounced in the Senate, upon the Debate about the Punishment proper to be inflicted on the Conspirators. Some of the Senators, particularly Cæsar, were of Opinion, that they ought to be confined to perpetual Imprisonment in the Municipal Cities; others, at the Head of whom was Silanus, were for putting them immediately to Death. Tho' the last Opinion was most agreeable to Tully, he does not in the following Oration declare for it; but leaves the Decision entirely to the Senate, after setting forth the Enormity of the Conspirators, which he does with great Acrimony and Art.





M. T.

C I C E R O's
FOURTH
ORATION
AGAINST
CATILINE.



5 PERCEIVE, Fathers Con-
script, that every Eye is fixt
upon me. I perceive that you
are anxious, not only about the
Dangers that threaten yourselves,
and your Country, but were these repelled, for
those that may affect me. This kind Con-
cern gives me Pleasure in Calamity, and Re-
10 lief in Sorrow: But by the Immortal Gods
I conjure you to lay it aside ; and, forgetful of
my Preservation, to study that of yourselves
and

and Families. For my own Part, could I enjoy the Consulate, only upon the Terms of my being subjected to Cruelty, Pain, and Anguish of every kind, I would bear them, not with Courage only, but with Pleasure, 5 provided that, from these my Sufferings, you and the People of *Rome* were to derive Dignity and Security.

I, FATHERS Conscript, am that Consul 10 to whom the Forum, that Center of all Equity; to whom the Field hallowed by consular Auspices; to whom the Senate-House, the highest Tribunal of Relief to all Nations; to whom domestic Walls, the Shel- 15 ter of all besides; to whom not even the Couch set apart for Repose; nay, not this Seat of Dignity, nor this Chair of State have been free from Treachery, and the Perils of Death. Much have I concealed; much 20 have I borne; much have I yielded; and much with my own Pain have I healed, while you trembled for the Event. Now if the Immortal Gods would grant this to be the Issue of my Consulship, that I should snatch 25 you, Fathers Conscript, and the People of *Rome*, from dismal Massacre; your Wives, your Children, and the Vestal-Virgins, from outrageous Persecution; our Temples and
G 3 Altars,

Altars, with this our lovely Country, from execrable Flames; and all *Italy* from War and Desolation, let me be singled out to suffer whatever Fate shall inflict; for if *Publius*
 5 *Lentulus*, deluded by Fortune-tellers, thought that his Name was ominous to the Destruction of this State, why may not I rejoyce that my Consulship has, in a great measure, been decreed by Fate for its Preservation?

10 THEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, think on yourselves, provide for your Country; preserve your Order, your Wives, your Children, your Fortunes; protect the Majesty
 15 and the Lives of the People of *Rome*; but forbear your Tenderness and Concern for me. For, in the first place, I have Grounds to hope, that all the Gods, the Guardians of this City, will requite me according to my
 20 Deserts. Then should any thing unexpected happen, with Resignation and Resolution am I prepared to die; for to the Brave, Death can never be dishonourable; to the Consular, untimely; nor to the Wise, afflict-
 25 ing. Not that I am so steel'd as to be unmoved by the Grief of this my dear and affectionate Brother, and the Tears of those worthy Persons whom you see here present to surround me. Let me own too
 that

that a dispirited Wife; a Daughter dismayed
with her Fears; and an Infant-Son, whom
I imagine my Country now embraces as the
Pledge of my Conduct; this my Son-in-
Law, whom I see waiting the Event of this 5
Day, often recalls my Mind to domestic
Endearments. Still these Objects give me
Concern; but a Concern how they and you
may be preserved, even tho' I were taken off
by Violence, rather than that we all should 10
be involved in a general Wreck of our
Country.

WHEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, ply to
the Safety of the State; keep a *Look-out* to 15
every impending Storm, which, but for *your*
Vigilance, must overtake you. It is not a
Tiberius Gracchus who again aspires to the
Tribuneship of the People; nor a *Caius*
Gracchus, the Incendiary, for an Agrarian 20
Law; nor a *Lucius Saturninus*, the Murder-
er of *Caius Memnius*, who is now brought
into Judgment, and to the Bar of your Jus-
tice. No; the Prisoners you try, are those
who remained at *Rome* to fire the City, to 25
slaughter every Senator here, and to receive
Catiline. Their Letters, their Seals, their
Hands, in short, their several Confessions,
are in our Custody: The *Allobroges* are
G 4 tempted

tempted, Slaves spirited-up, *Catiline* sent for. The End they proposed was, that after a general Massacre, not a Soul should remain to bewail the extinguished Glory of *Rome*,
 5 or to weep over the Ruins of this mighty Empire.

ALL this the Informers have discovered ; the Criminals have confessed ; and you, by
 10 repeated Resolutions, have declared to be true. In the first place, as you returned me Thanks in distinguishing Terms, and declared that, thro' my Virtue and Activity, the Conspiracy of these desperate Wretches
 15 had been laid open. In the next place, as you forced *Publius Lentulus* to abdicate the Prætorship : Then as you came to a Resolution, that he, and the other Conspirators, whom you had tried, should be deli-
 20 vered into Custody ; and chiefly, as on my Account you appointed a Thanksgiving, an Honour that never was before paid to any of the Long Robe. Lastly, Yesterday you bestowed large Gratuities upon the Commis-
 25 sioners of the *Allobroges*, and *Titus Vulturcius* ; all which Circumstances are such, as to make it appear that you have condemned, without hesitation, the Persons whom you have thus expressly committed to Prison.

BUT,

BUT, Fathers Conscript, I purpose to open the whole Matter a-new; for your Sentiments upon the Fact itself, and for your Resolutions upon the Punishment that ought to attend it. But let me premise what I think it my Duty to say as a Consul: Long had I observed a strong Spirit of Disorder working; with certain dangerous Innovations mingling and fermenting in the State; but never did I imagine that so great, so destructive a Conspiracy was forming by her Subjects. Now, whatever in your Sentiments you shall incline to, whatever in your Voices you shall decree, before Night, you must come to a final Resolution. How detestable a Crime is laid before you, yourselves see; if you think that but a few are accessary to its Guilt, greatly are you mistaken. The Poison reaches farther than you imagine; it is spread not only through *Italy*, but has even passed the *Alps*, and imperceptibly creeping along, has tainted many Provinces. Forbearance and Delay can never crush it: Whatever Resolution you come to, you must speedily execute it.

I PERCEIVE as yet but two Opinions; the one of *Decius Silanus*, who delivers it as his Sense, that whoever has
endea-

endeavoured to abolish *such and such Things*, ought to be punished with Death: The other of *Caius Cæsar*, who leaves out the Pains of Death, but comprehends all the severest Penalties of every other Censure. Both agreeable to their own Dignity, and the Importance of the Cause, turn upon the utmost Severity. The former is of Opinion, that they who endeavoured to deprive this Order, and the *Roman* People of Life; who endeavoured to abolish this Empire, and to extinguish the Glories of *Rome*, were unworthy to enjoy a Moment's Respite from Death, or breathe this vital Air. He proves, from Precedents, that this was the Punishment always inflicted, in this State, upon her unnatural Subjects. The Sense of the latter is, that Death was not appointed by the Immortal Gods as a Penalty; but that it is rather the inseparable Condition of our Nature, or the Cessation of our Toils and Troubles. Therefore it is never declined by the Wise; and often courted by the Brave. But that Bonds, and those too perpetual, were at first undoubtedly invented as the proper, the distinguishing Punishment of unnatural Guilt: Therefore he advises that the Prisoners should be distributed among the municipal Towns. This, were you to order it, implies an Injustice:

If

If you require it, it must meet with Difficulty. Yet if it be the Sense of the House, let it be decreed; for I will undertake it; and I hope to find the Man who shall think it no Reflection upon his own Dignity, to acquiesce in whatever you shall decree for the common Safety. *Cæsar* is for enacting a heavy Penalty against the municipal Cities, if any of the Criminals shall break out of their Prisons. He surrounds them with horrible Guards, and decrees against them, what is adequate to the Guilt of such profligate Wretches, that no Man shall ever have a Power to apply either to the Senate or the People, for a Mitigation to the Punishment of those he condemns. He deprives them even of Hope, that sole, that usual Consolation of the Wretched. He orders their Estates to be confiscated; and all he leaves to the abandoned Ruffians is Life, of which should he deprive them, by one momentary Pang, he would take away all the Anguish of their Souls, their Bodies, and their Crimes. Therefore, that some Restraint might be laid upon the Wicked in this Life, the Ancients have thought fit, that some such Punishment should be allotted to the Guilty in Hell, because they were of Opinion, that without such

such a Belief, Death in itself was no great Object of Terror.

Now, Fathers Conscript, I can perceive
 5 how much it is for my Interest that you give
 into the Opinion of *Caius Cæsar*; because,
 as he has struck into that Path which leads
 to Popularity in the State, I shall perhaps
 have less Reason to dread the Insults of the
 10 People, as he both moved and supported this
 Resolution. As for the other Opinion, I
 am not sure but it may raise new Perplexities
 upon my Hands. But let the Service of the
 Republic supersede all Considerations of my
 15 Danger.

Caius Cæsar, agreeable to his own Character, and the Dignity of his illustrious Ancestors, has delivered to us an Opinion,
 20 which is, as it were, a lasting Pledge of his
 Affection to his Country, and a noble Instance of the Difference betwixt the affected
 Lenity of busy Declaimers, and a Mind truly
 popular, taking a Patriot Concern in the
 25 Preservation of the People. I can now perceive, that a certain Gentleman of those
 who affect Popularity, is now absent, because
 forsooth he is tender of voting away the
 Life of *Roman* Citizens. Yet that very
 Member

Member but the other Day committed *Roman* Citizens to Jail; voted a Thanksgiving for me; and yesterday bestowed large Gratuities upon the Informers.

Now, who can be in doubt about the Sentiments, with regard to the whole of this Transaction and Business, of the Man, who has voted for Imprisonment to the Accused, Thanks to the Judge, and a Reward to the 10 Informer.

BUT *Caius Cæsar* understands the *Sempronian* Law, to respect *Roman* Citizens only; but that the Man, who is an Enemy 15 to *Rome*, can in no Sense be called a *Roman* Citizen. In short, that the very Enactor of the *Sempronian* Law, tho' uncondemned by the People, satisfied the Rigour of his Country's Justice. The same Member thinks 20 that the profuse and prodigal *Lentulus*, who had so often hatched within himself the Destruction of the People and City of *Rome*, with every Circumstance of Blood and Cruelty, cannot be called a Countryman. There- 25 fore the meek and tender-hearted Gentleman makes no scruple in committing *Publius Lentulus* to eternal Darkness and Chains: And he enacts, that for the future no Man shall

shall ever have it in his Power to vaunt of his having procured a Mitigation of this Doom, or to make himself popular to the Ruin of his Country. He likewise
 5 adds the Confiscation of their Goods, that thus Want and Beggary may attend every Torment of Body and Soul. Therefore, if ye follow his Opinion, ye will then give me a Companion to the Assembly, who is
 10 dear and agreeable to the *Roman* People; or whether ye follow that of *Silanus*, ye will easily clear both yourselves and me of the Charge of Cruelty; and I shall prove that it is by far the milder Course.

15 YET, Fathers Conscript, where can consist the Cruelty of punishing such Monsters of Treason? I judge of others from what I myself feel; for may I never, in conjunction with you, enjoy the Blessing of my
 20 Country's Safety, if the Keeness which I shew in this *Prosecution* proceeds from any Bitterness of Spirit; for who can be milder than I? But from particular Tenderness and
 25 Compassion. For I have now before my Eyes this City, the Eye of the World, and the Refuge of Nations of a sudden Sinking under the Flames. I figure in my Mind
 the

the Bodies of my hapless Countrymen lying
in Heaps, unburied in my buried Country:
I have now before my Eyes the Looks and
Fury of *Cethegus* revelling in your Blood.
But when I figure to myself *Lentulus* on 5
the Throne, which he confessed he was en-
couraged to hope for from the Fates; this
Gabinus in a Purple Robe; and *Catiline*
with an Army, then am I struck with Hor-
ror at the Shrieks of our Matrons; the 10
Flight of Boys and Maids; and the Rapes
of Vestal Virgins. Now, as to me, these
Calamities appear *extremely* shocking and
deplorable, therefore I am *extremely* keen
and rigorous in punishing those who endea- 15
voured to bring them about. For let me
put the Case, that a Master of a Family had
his Children butchered, his Wife murdered,
his House burnt down by a Slave, yet did
not inflict the most rigorous of Punishments 20
imaginable upon *that Slave*; would such a
Master appear merciful and compassionate,
and not rather a Monster of Cruelty and
Inhumanity? To me that Man would ap-
pear to be of a flinty cruel Nature, who 25
should not endeavour to sooth his own An-
guish and Torment, by the Anguish and
Torment of its guilty Cause. Thus ought
we to act by those Men who intended to
murder

murder Ourselves, our Wives, our Children ;
 who endeavoured to raze the Houses of
 every particular *Roman*, and to destroy this
 general Seat of Empire. Who conspired to
 5 settle the *Allobroges* upon the Ruins of this
 City, and in the Ashes of our *consumed* Em-
 pire. By discovering the keenest Resent-
 ment, we shall express the tenderest Com-
 passion. But should we relent and retract,
 10 then must we be branded with the Infamy
 of being exquisitely cruel, while the Destruc-
 tion of our Country and our Countrymen
 is in Question.

15 As well may we suspect *Lucius Cæsar*, a
 Man of the greatest Courage and Patriotism,
 of Cruelty, when the other Day he declared
 that the Husband of his Sister, a Lady of
 consummate Merit, even while he stood
 20 by, and heard him, ought to be put to
 Death ; and *strengthened it by this Argu-
 ment*, that his own Grandfather was put to
 Death by Command of the Consul ; and
 that his Son, tho' but a Stripling, being sent
 25 on a Message from the Father, was executed
 in Prison. In their Case is there any Paral-
 lel to this? Had they entered into a Con-
 spiracy to destroy their Country ? A Spirit of
 Corruption was then indeed beginning to
 work

work in the State, and opposite Parties begun to be formed; and at that time the Grandfather of this very *Lentulus*, an illustrious Patriot, in Arms attacked *Gracchus*; and to prevent the Majesty of the State from receiving the smallest Mutilation, he received a cruel Wound. But *Lentulus*, to destroy the very Foundations of our Constitution, called in the *Gauls*, stirred up the Slaves, invited *Catiline*, consigned us to be butchered by *Cethegus*, the other Citizens to be murdered by *Gabinus*, the City to be burnt by *Cassius*, and all *Italy* to be desolated and plundered by *Catiline*. Can I then suppose that you will dread the Censure of decreeing with too much Severity, when the Circumstances of this Treason are so monstrous and unnatural? When you have more Reason to dread, that by Lenity in punishing, we may be blamed as cruel towards our Country, rather than, by the Severity of our Censure, too keen against its most implacable Enemies.

BUT, Fathers Conscript, I cannot dissemble what I hear. Some Discourse, which has reached my Ears, has been bandied about, among People who seem to fear that I have not Strength sufficient to put in Execution what you shall this Day decree. That every

thing, Fathers Conscript, has been provided, prepared, and settled, is owing much to my indefatigable Care and Application; but more to the strong Inclination which the People
5 of *Rome* discovered for retaining their Imperial Sovereignty, and preserving their common Interests. Every Man of every Rank, nay, of every Age, is now waiting without; the Forum is crowded; the Temples
10 round the Forum are crowded; and all the Passages to this House are crowded. For since the Building of this City, this is the only Case in which the Sentiments of the Public are unanimous and undivided, except
15 of such as finding their own Ruin inevitable, chose rather to perish with all, than to fall by themselves. Those chearfully I exclude; those I separate *from the rest*; those I think are not to be ranked among the Number
20 even of degenerated Citizens, but inveterate Enemies. But, Immortal Gods! for the rest, in what Crowds, with what Zeal, with what Courage, do they unite in their Concern and Care of the Public Welfare and Dignity!
25 Why need I here to mention the *Roman* Knights? who, tho' to you they yield the Precedency in Rank and Government, yet rival you in Love for their Country; whom after a Difference of many Years, re-
conciled

conciled to a good Understanding and Unanimity with this Order, the present Juncture, and the present Danger now cements with you. A Conjunction, which strengthened under my Consulate, if we shall perpetuate 5 in the State, be assured by me that no Civil nor Domestic Calamity shall ever hereafter affect any Part of this Constitution.

WITH equal Zeal in Defence of their 10 Country, do I perceive the brave Tribunes of the Treasury to be assembled, together with all the Clerks, whom Chance had this Day fully assembled in the Treasury; and whom now I see not intent upon their pri- 15 vate Interests, but upon the public Welfare. The whole Body of free-born Citizens, even the meanest, assists. For to whom among them are not these Temples, the Face of this City, the Enjoyment of Liberty, 20 in short, this very Light, and this Parent Soil not only dear, but delightful and charming.

IT is of Importance, Fathers Conscript, to observe the Zeal of those Free'd Men, who 25 having by their Industry purchased the Freedom of this City, look on this Country as their own; whereas some born here, and born too to the most distinguished Honours, re-

gard this not as their Country, but as a City
 in the Hands of their Enemies. But why
 do I mention those Men, and these Orders,
 whom private Interest, whom the general
 5 Good, whom, in short, Liberty, the dearest
 Object of Life, has *roused* to the Preservation
 of their Country. There is not a Slave, whose
 Condition of Life is not intolerable, who
 is not shocked at the Ruffian Boldness of
 10 our Countrymen; who does not wish these
 Walls to stand; and who will not contribute
 whatever he dares, whatever he can, to our
 Endeavours for the common Safety. There-
 fore if any of you are struck with a Report,
 15 that a certain infamous Tool of *Lentulus* runs
 from Shop to Shop, endeavouring to tempt
 and corrupt the Minds of the Needy and the
 Heedless; know that that indeed was begun
 and attempted: But none were found so
 20 wretched in their Circumstances, so aban-
 doned in their Inclinations, who did not pre-
 fer the quiet Enjoyment, some of their Stall
 and their Labours, and the Place where they
 earned their daily Bread; some of their Couch
 25 and humble Bed; and some, in short, of their
 peaceful Course of Life: But the greatest
 Part of those who are Shopkeepers, nay in
 reality I may say that whole Rank, loves
 Peace. For all their Manufactures, all their
 Works,

Works, all their Profit, are supported by the
 Populouſneſs of the City, and nourished by
 Peace. If their Profits were diminished by
 their Shops being ſhut up, what muſt they
 be if burnt to the Ground? If the Caſe 5
 ſtands thus, as the Guard of the *Roman*
 People are not wanting to you, do you take
 care that your Protection do not appear to
 be wanting to them.

You have a Conſul reſerved from many
 Dangers, from many Conſpiracies, from the
 Jaws of Death itſelf; not on his own Ac-
 count, but for your Preservation: All Orders
 unite in Opinion, in Deſire, in Zeal, in Cou- 15
 rage, and in Voice, to preſerve the State.
 To you, your Parent-Country, beſet with the
 Brands and the Weapons of impious Con-
 ſpiracy, as a Suppliant, ſtretches out her
 Hands: To you, ſhe recommends herſelf. 20
 To you, the Lives of all her Sons: To you,
 the Tower and the Capitol: To you, her
 domeſtic Images: To you, that everlaſting
 Fire of *Veſta*: To you, all the Temples and
 the Altars of the Gods: And to you, the 25
 Battlements and Roofs of this City. This
 Day beſides you are to paſs Judgment upon
 your own Lives; upon the Souls of your
 Wives and Children; upon the general Inte-

rests; upon your Houses and your Properties.

You have a Leader mindful of you, un-
 5 mindful of himself; a Happiness not always
 to be met. You have every Order, every
 Man, the whole Body of the *Roman* People,
 unanimous and united in their Sentiments;
 a Circumstance, which in a civil Case, before
 10 this Day, we never knew to happen. Think,
 think, O *Romans!* with what Toils that
 Empire was reared; on what Virtue that
 Liberty was founded; by what Munificence
 of the Gods those Interests were improved
 15 and heightened, which in one Night had
 almost been abolished. This Day are you to
 provide, that such Treason shall never again
 be executed; nay, not so much as designed
 by Citizens; and all this have I delivered to
 20 you, not to quicken you, for your Zeal has
 almost got the start of mine, but that my
 Voice, which ought to lead in Matters of
 Government, may appear to have discharged
 the Duty of a Consul.

25 Now before I proceed, Fathers Conscript,
 in taking the Sense of the House, I must
 drop a Word with regard to myself: I per-
 ceive that I am now to encounter a Multi-
 tude

tude of Enemies, equal to the Numbers of
the Conspirators, which you see are very
great; but these I judge to be scandalous and
impotent, deserted and despicable. But if
ever, thro' the Guilt and Frenzy of any one, 5
that Faction shall get the better of your and
the public Dignity, yet never, Fathers Con-
script, will I repent of what I have done,
and of what I have advised. For Death, with
which they may perhaps menace me, awaits 10
for all; but that Pride of living, by which I
am dignified by your Decrees, has hitherto
been equalled to none. To others have you
decreed Thanksgiving for the successful Ma-
nagement; but to me alone, for the auspi- 15
cious Preservation of the Republic: All Ho-
nour to *Scipio*, the *Scipio* whose Counsels and
Courage forced *Hanibal* to return to *Africa*,
and to depart from *Italy*. May every di-
stinguished Glory await the Name of the 20
other *Africanus* who destroyed *Numantia*
and *Carthage*, those two Cities the inveterate
Enemies of *Roman Sway*: For ever renown'd
be *Lucius Paulus*, whose Chariot was graced
by the Captivity of a once powerful and 25
glorious Monarch. May *Marcus* enjoy
immortal Honour, who twice delivered
Italy from Invasion and the Dread of Sla-
very; but above all these, let *Pompey* be di-
H 4 stinguished,

distinguished, whose Actions and Virtues are
 bounded by no other Climes or Limits, than
 those that regulate the Course of the Sun:
 Yet amidst all their Extent of Glory, some
 5 Corner must be reserved for my Renown,
 unless you suppose that there is more Merit
 in opening Provinces, to which we may re-
 treat, than in taking care that our absent
 Countrymen may have a Place, to which
 10 they may return in Triumph.

BUT in one Circumstance the Conse-
 quences of a foreign Victory are preferable
 to those of domestic, in as much as foreign
 15 Enemies, reduced by Arms, are submissive;
 if received upon Terms, have a grateful
 Sense of the Favour. But Citizens, who
 from stupid Degeneracy commence the Ene-
 mies of their Country, if you disappoint
 20 them of public Ruin, no Force can con-
 strain, no Kindness can reconcile. I see
 therefore that I am to wage eternal War with
 desperate Citizens: A War, which I hope I
 shall easily repel from me and mine, thro'
 25 your and every worthy Man's Assistance,
 and from that Remembrance of so many
 Dangers which must cleave not only to this
 delivered People, but to the Tongues and
 the Minds of every Nation on Earth. Nor
 indeed

indeed can any Power be so formidable as to
penetrate, and to shake the Union of your
Order with that of the *Roman* Knights, and
this thorow Harmony of all well-affected
Citizens. 5

THEREFORE, Fathers Conscript, instead
of Command; instead of an Army; instead
of a Province which I neglected; instead of
a Triumph, and other Distinctions of Glory 10
which I slighted, for the Preservation of you
and this City; instead of my Clientships
and Provincial Appointments, which, with
my Fortune in the City, I labour as much to
support as to acquire; instead of all these 15
Services, instead of all the Instances of my
Zeal for your Interest, and instead of the
Pains which ye are Witnesses I bestow on the
Preservation of this Republic, all I require of
you is the Commemoration of this Juncture, 20
and of the whole of my Consulute; while
that shall remain in your Minds, I shall think
myself surrounded with an impregnable
Wall. But should my Expectation be dis-
appointed by Ruffian Violence, to you I re- 25
commend my little Son. Sufficient shall be
his Guard, not only to preserve, but to do
him Honour, if you shall remember him to
be the Son of the Man, who at his own
pri-

private Peril preserved all your Concerns.
 Therefore, Fathers Conscript, as you propose,
 determine with Quickness and Resolution in
 an Affair that concerns your very Being,
 5 and that of the People of *Rome*; your Wives
 and Children; your Religion and Properties;
 your Fanes and Temples; the Roofs and
 Mansions of all the City; your Empire;
 your Liberty; the Safety of *Italy*, and the
 10 whole System of your Constitution. You
 have a Consul, who, without hesitation, will
 obey your Orders, and while he breathes,
 will, in his own Person, charge himself with
 the Execution and Defence of whatever you
 15 shall decree.





T H E
A R G U M E N T.

THIS Oration, which the ingenious Dr. Middleton, in his *Life of Cicero*, justly calls the most entertaining of all his Orations, was pronounced upon the following Occasion: Marcus Cælius was a young Gentleman who had been educated under the Eye of Cicero; and being of a graceful Person and amorous Disposition, but of fine Genius and Learning, entered into some loose Familiarities with Clodia, the Sister of Publius Clodius, a Lady infamous for her Lewdness. Cælius casting her off, the Lady's Friends impeached him of a Design to poison Clodia, of borrowing from her a Sum of Money to murder some Alexandrian Embassadors; of maltreating his Father; of being the Friend of Catiline; of being rude to the Roman Matrons; of beating a Senator; and some seditious Practices at Naples, with several other Crimes. The chief Prosecutor was Arratinus, whose Father was at the same time impeached for corrupt Practices by the Defendant Cælius, who was acquitted upon this Occasion.

It was pronounced in the 697th Year of Rome, and the 51st of Cicero's Age.

M.



M. T.

C I C E R O's
O R A T I O N
F O R
C Æ L I U S.



5 H O U L D it happen, my
Lords, that in this Court there
is a Man unacquainted with our
Laws, our Judicatures and
Forms of Proceedings, sure he
must be at a loss to account for the aggra-
vating Circumstances that render this Cause
of so heinous a Nature, as that it should be
the only one tried in this Festal Season,
10 amidst public Rejoycings, and a general
Intermission of all Business in the Forum.
He would conclude that the Nature of the
Crimes charged upon the Prisoner, is such
that

that were it overlook'd, this State could not
 exist. The same Person, when he shall
 hear that there is a Law for trying on any
 Day seditious profligate Citizens, who in
 Arms shall beset the Senate, assault the Ma- 5
 gistrates; without disapproving of the Law,
 he may still insist upon his being informed
 of the Crime that is trying. When he
 shall hear that what is depending has nothing
 in it treasonable, nothing audacious, nothing 10
 riotous in its Nature; but that a Youth dis-
 tinguished by Genius, by Application, and
 by Popularity, is here accused by a Man,
 whose Father has been for some time, and
 now is, under a Prosecution at the Instance of 15
 this Youth; but that he is attacked by the
 Interest of a Strumpet; he will not indeed
 blame the Piety of *Arratinus*, but he will
 imagine that some Restraint ought to be laid
 upon Female Lewdness; he will think that 20
 you are painful, at a time when a general
 Vocation entitles you to Repose. For if
 you shall hear with Attention, and weigh
 with Judgment, the whole of this Cause, you
 must, my Lords, conclude that no Man but 25
 by your Compulsion, would here list him-
 self as Accuser, nor when he had listed him-
 self, could he have the least Hopes of Suc-
 cess, but from the unbounded Lewdness and
 impla-

implacable Malice of some other Person. I indeed pardon *Arratinus*, who is a young Man of great Humanity and Worth, my Friend, and may plead in his Excuse, Piety, 5 Compulsion, or Youth: If he undertook this Prosecution of his own accord, I attribute it to filial Piety; if by Command, to Compulsion; if from the Hope of Success, to Youth. The other Prosecutors, have not 10 only no Title to pardon, but they deserve all the Keenness of Opposition.

BUT, my Lords, I apprehend, that entering upon this Defence, it is proper for me to 15 touch upon the Youth of *Marcus Cælius*, and obviate those Calumnies with which his Accusers endeavoured to asperse his Person, and to rifle, to rob him of Reputation. His Father is represented in different Lights, 20 either as making but a poor figure in Life, or as undutifully treated by his Son. As to his Character, *Cælius*, without either himself, or even me speaking a Word, can easily answer all Objections by appealing to those 25 who know him, and who are advanced in Years. As to those who on account of his advanced Age, have had but few Opportunities of knowing him, he having been long refused to act with us in the Forum, let such under-

understand, that all that exalted Dignity which the Character of a *Roman* Knight can admit of, has ever in its highest Splendor been thought to be supported by *Cælius*, and it is so thought, not only by his own 5 Relations, but by all to whom in any respect his Person is known.

That he is the Son of a Roman Knight ought never to have been urged in Accusation 10 where these were to prosecute, where you were to judge, and we to defend. As to what you have advanced against his filial Duty, we are indeed at Liberty to make Reflections; but it is from the Parent we 15 are to form our Judgment. Our Sentiments you will hear from the Evidences on Oath; what the Sentiments of his Parents are, the inconsolable Anguish of a weeping Mother, the Dejection of a Father, and those melancholy 20 Objects now before your Eyes, declare.

As to what is objected, as if this Youth had been disagreeable to his Fellow-Citizens, no Man in Person ever received such 25 Honours from those of *Puteoli*, than *Cælius* has received in his Absence; in his Absence they enrolled him into their highest Order, and, unsolicited, they bestowed on him what they

they had denied to the Sollicitations of many others. The same Body has sent a Delegation of the most respectable Men, both of our Order and the *Roman* Knights,
 5 to this Tryal, with the strongest and amplest Recommendations. I seem to have laid the Foundation on which I am to build my Defence ; a Foundation that must be unshaken, if rested on the Judgment of those
 10 with whom he has the nearest Connections: Nor could his Youth have sufficiently recommended him to your Favour, had he incurred the Displeasure not only of such a Father, but of so illustrious, so wise a Corpo-
 15 ration.

BUT that I may apply to myself what I have said ; from the same Sources, did I flow into Reputation with Mankind ; and it was
 20 from the Character, from the Judgment which my own Relations formed of me, that my Practice at the Bar, and my Schemes of Life, poured thro' a wider Channel of public Regard. For as to the Charge against
 25 his Chastity, a Charge urged by all his Accusers, not upon Facts, but Assertions and Calumnies, never can it affect *M. Caelius* so sensibly, as to make him reject that he was not mis-shapen by Nature ; for these have ever
 been

been the common-place Calumnies propagated against all who in their Youth had a handsome Person and graceful Appearance. But it is one thing to rail, another to accuse. An Accusation requires a Charge, 5 and this Charge must fix the Crime; it must mark the Person, it must be proved by Arguments, and supported by Evidence: Railing has no End but to insult; if urged with *Petulance*, it becomes *Abuse*; 10 if with *Humour*, *Wit*.

This Part of the Charge gave me indeed a good deal of Surprize and Concern, that it should chiefly fall to the Management of 15 *Atratinus*; for it is both unbecoming of, and inconsistent with his Age; and, as the Court had an Opportunity of observing, the Modesty of the excellent Youth checked his indulging himself in the Propriety of Lan- 20 guage adapted to his Part. I could have wished that some of you beaten Gentlemen had undertaken this Province of Railing; then might we have refuted that Licentiousness of Railing, with more Freedom and 25 more Strength, and more too in our own way. With you, *Atratinus*, I will deal more gently, both because your Modesty is a Restraint upon my Tongue, and because

I think myself obliged to preserve my Friendship for your Father and yourself.

THIS, however, it is proper I should advise you; in the first place, that you should entertain a becoming Consciousness of your own real Character; that Indecency of Expression may be as far from your Lips, as the Lewdness of Action is from your Conduct. In the next Place, that you urge not in your Charge against another what, were it without regard to Truth urg'd against yourself, you must blush to hear. For where is the Man who may not tread that Path? 15 Where is the Man who may not calumniate, with all the Pertness he pleases, such Youth and such Gracefulness, however it may be blameless, if its Appearance conveys but a Presumption of Guilt? But all the Blame 20 of your Part in this Accusation, must light upon those who charg'd you with it: To the Praise of your Modesty be it said, that we can witness with what Unwillingness you spoke; and to the Praise of your Address, that 25 what you was oblig'd to speak was elegant and polite.

BUT there is a short Answer to all this Charge: For as long as the Age of *Caecilius* might

might infer a Presumption of Guilt, it was protected first by his own Modesty, and then by the Care and Education bestowed on him by his Father, who as soon as he gave him the Manly Gown — But here let me say 5 nothing of myself; my own Character I submit to you. — But this I will say, he was immediately brought by his Father to me. No-body saw this same *Marcus Cælius*, in that Bloom of Life, but in Com- 10 pany with his Father or me, or in the chaste House of *Marcus Crassus*, where he was trained in the most honourable Arts.

As to the Objection of my Client's Fami- 15 liarity with *Catiline*, that is a Suspicion by no means applicable to him. While he was but a Stripling, you know that *Catiline* stood for the Consulate *against* me; but if ever *Cælius* kept his Company, or if ever he 20 left mine, tho' many excellent young Men were zealous, for that infamous flagitious Fellow, then let *Cælius* be thought to have been too intimate with *Catiline*. But, it may be said, we afterwards knew, we after- 25 wards saw, that *Cælius* was the Friend of *Catiline*: Who denies it! But in this Place I am only to defend his Conduct, in that Period of Life, which of itself is but too

116 CICERO'S ORATION

liable to Infirmary, and from the Lewdness
of others too subject to Infection. While
I was Prætor, he attended me close, he did not
then know *Catiline*, who during that Time
5 acted as Prætor in *Afric*. The Year after,
Catiline was tried for Extortion: *Cælius* was
then with me; nor did he ever appear in
Court for him as a Friend: The following
Year I stood for the Consulate; I was op-
10 posed by *Catiline*; with him, *Cælius* never
appeared; from me he never departed.

HAVING therefore practised in the *For-*
um many Years, without Suspicion, with-
15 out Infamy, he favoured *Catiline*, who
again stood. How long then do you think
that Youth ought to be guarded? For-
merly a whole Year was allotted to us, in
which we might learn to keep the Arm
20 within the Gown, and Field-Exercises and
Diversions we perform'd in our Waistcoats.
The Discipline in the Camp and on the
March was the same, when we first began
to carry Arms. At this Time of Life;
25 whoever did not, by his grave and decent
Behaviour, by the Habit he had acquired
in private Education, and likewise by a
natural virtuous Disposition, protect his own
Character, it never was in his Power to es-
cape

cape real Infamy, tho' the Care of his Relations in his Education had been ever so strict. But whoever had pass'd that Entrance upon Life without Blame, or Blemish, after he arrived at Maturity, and liv'd as a Man 5 among Men, Nobody ever presum'd to throw out the least Reflection against his Honour or Chastity.

Cælius had several Years practis'd in the 10 Forum, before he favoured *Catiline*; but in this he did no more than what was done by many of every Rank and every Age. For *Catiline* possess'd, as I suppose you may remember, many, not indeed finished Resem- 15 blances, but striking Out-lines of the most exalted Virtues: Many were the Ruffians with whom he was acquainted; while he himself appeared to be devoted to Men of Virtue; tho' he often kindled Lust and 20 Lewdness, yet sometimes he could prompt Labour and Activity: While he was burning in the Guilt of infamous Desires, he was painful in the Pursuit of military Accomplishments: Nor do I think that such a 25 Prodigy ever appeared upon Earth; such a Composition of natural Affections and Passions, so differing, so opposite, so repugnant to one another. At one Time, who was

ever more agreeable to the best of Men; and
 who more intimate with the worst? At one
 Time, who could be more attached to the
 Patriot-Interest? Yet who a more bitter
 5 Enemy to *Rome*? In Pleasures, who more
 impure? In Toils, who more indefatigable?
 Who ever more rapacious; yet who was
 ever more profuse? Yet this Man, my Lords,
 possessed the surprizing Qualities of being
 10 able, after he had catch'd the Friendship of
 Numbers, to fix them by his Obsequious-
 ness, by sharing whatever he possess'd with
 all, by supplying the Exigences of his Par-
 ty with his Purse, with his Interest, his
 15 personal Fatigue, and if they required it, by
 his Villany and Presumption; adapting his
 own Nature to the Juncture, by suppling
 and bending it to his Conveniency; by ap-
 pearing severe with the Morose, easy with
 20 the Loose, grave with the Aged, gay with
 the Young, intrepid with the Resolute, and
 lewd with the Lustful.

AFTER, by this Variety, this Jumble of
 25 natural Dispositions, he had got together, from
 every Land, every Man who was a Russian
 or a Rebel, he at the same Time, by a cer-
 tain Shew of Virtue, held the Friendship of
 many brave worthy Men; nor could his
 execrable Attempt to destroy this Govern-
 ment

ment have sprouted up, had not the Luxury of such complicated Vice been nourished from certain Stems of Compliance and Hardiness.

5

LET that Article therefore, my Lords, be rejected; nor let an Acquaintance with *Catiline* be imputed as a Crime: It was the Case of many, and even of some worthy Men: Myself, let me speak it out, myself he once 10 almost imposed upon, by appearing to me an excellent Citizen, devoted to every good Man, and a firm, faithful Friend. His Crimes I was convinced of by what I saw, sooner than by what I judged; by what I 15 felt, sooner than by what I suspected. If *Cælius* was amongst a great Crowd of his Friends, he has more Reason to regret his own Mistake, as I too am sometimes sorry for having been imposed upon by the same 20 Person, rather than to dread its being urged as a Crime that he was acquainted with *Catiline*.

YOUR Accusation therefore is passed from 25 the Scandal of an Intrigue, to the Unpopularity of a Conspiracy. For you urged, but in a hesitating and cursory Manner, that *Cælius* was involved in *Catiline's* Conspiracy, because he had a Friendship for his

Person; a Charge, on which it was so impossible to hang a Crime, that the Words of the eloquent Youth could scarcely hang together while he urged it. Why all this Rage in
5 *Cælius*? Whence this monstrous Defect, either in his Morals and Nature, or in his Estate and Circumstances? Shew me, in short, whether *Cælius* ever lay under such an Imputation? But I waste the Time in proving
10 a self-evident Truth. This however I must say, that if *Cælius* had been accessary to that Conspiracy, nay, had he not had a determined Aversion to its Guilt, never would he have endeavoured to distinguish himself
15 in his Youth, by the Part he bore in the Impeachment upon that Conspiracy. And I know not, if the Charge against his Ambition and the Crimes of his Associates and Confederates in Corruption, since I am now
20 on that Subject, may not admit of the same Answer. For it never can be supposed that *Cælius* could be so infatuated, had he stained himself by plunging into the boundless System of Corruption with which he is charged,
25 as to impeach another of the same Practices. Nor would he have prosecuted another upon a Presumption of a Crime, which he wished that he himself might be indulged in perpetually practising: Nor, if
he

he had thought that he himself was to be once tried for Corruption, would he have ever impeached another Person twice on the same Crime; which tho' he did against the Rules of Prudence, and against my Advice, 5 yet such is his Humour, that he chuses rather to attack the Innocence of another, than to seem in the least Doubt about his own.

As to the Objection of his Debts, his 10 unwarrantable Expences, and his Books of Accounts that are now demanded, I shall answer it in a few Words. One who is under the Tuition of his Father keeps no Books. He never yet borrowed any Sums. There 15 is indeed one Article of Expencc laid to his Charge, which is his Dwelling. He pays, you say, a Rent of two hundred and fifty Pounds a Year. Now at last I begin to perceive that the House of *Clodius* is to be 20 put up to Sale; for the Lodgings that *Cælius* rents in it, can scarce be worth above eighty Pounds a Year. But you, to do him a Pleasure, have made this Lie to serve a Jobb of his.

25

You blame him for leaving his Father; a Charge unjustly urged against him at this time of Life. He who, when acting in a public Capacity, obtained a Victory, to me indeed

indeed mortifying, but to himself honourable;
 and when he was of an Age to stand for a
 Magistracy, had separated from his Father,
 not only by the old Man's Permission, but
 5 Persuasion: And as his Father's House was
 at a great Distance from the Forum, that he
 might have easier Access to our Houses, and
 that his Friends might wait upon him with
 less Inconveniency to themselves, hired a
 10 House upon the Palatium at a moderate
 Rent.

AND here I may say with *Marcus Crassus*,
 when lately he complained of King *Ptolemy's*
 15 Arrival at Rome; *I wish that never in the*
Pelian Wood; I could even piece out this
 Poem farther, *For never then a wandering*
Lady had given us this Trouble —

20

A MEDEA

With love-sick Soul, and Heart by Passion
smit. —

For you shall find, my Lords, when I come
 25 to this Passage, that I will prove this *Medea*
 of the *Palatium*, with his Removal into
 her Neighbourhood, has been the Cause of
 all the Sufferings, or rather of all the Calum-
 nies that this young Gentleman has endured.

THERE

THEREFORE, my Lords, supported by your Wisdom, I am in no Pain about the Fictions which, I understand, have been invented by the Prosecutors to prejudge this Cause. For they gave out that there will be 5 a Senator who will give Evidence that he had been beaten by *Cælius* at the Pontifical Elections. I would demand of this Senator, should he appear, First, Why he did not proceed upon an Action immediately 10 after this happened? Then, If he chuse to make Complaints rather than seek for Redress, Why he was here upon Compulsion by the Prosecutors, and not of his own Accord? Why he should chuse to complain 15 so long after the Fact happened, and not instantly. Should he answer clearly and pointedly to all these Questions, I will then enquire, *From what Source this Senator springs?* For if his Rise and Fountain be in 20 his own Person, perhaps I shall as usual be under some Concern: But should I find him to be a Rivulet brought from the Fountain-Head, to flow thro' the Canal of your Accusation, it will give me Pleasure, that in 25 a Charge like yours, supported by so much Popularity and Power, only one Senator can be found who is willing to oblige you.

NOR

NOR am I under any Apprehensions with regard to that other Set who saw so clearly in the dark ; for the Prosecutors give out, that they can produce Citizens to prove, that
 5 as their Wives were returning from Supper, they were ruffled by *Cælius*. They must be very wise Persons who will venture to advance such a Fact as this upon Oath, when they must admit, at the same time, that they
 10 never once proposed a Reference, nor entered upon any Steps towards Redress for these enormous Insults!

BUT, my Lords, the whole Nature of
 15 this Attack you now understand ; and when it is made, you ought to discourage. For my Client is not accused by those by whom he is attacked. The Darts aimed at him are publicly thrown, but privately furnished.
 20 Nor do I speak this to cast a Slur upon those Gentlemen, to whom this very Circumstance ought to do Honour : They do their Duty ; they defend their Friends ; they act like Men of Courage ; when wronged, they complain ; when angry, they exclaim ; and when
 25 provok'd, they fight. But, my Lords, your Wisdom must direct you, that tho' these brave Men may have good Reasons for their attacking *Marcus Cælius*, yet never can that
 be

be any Reason why you should have greater
 Regard for another's Resentment, than your
 own Reputation. You see what Multitudes
 are in the *Forum*, and how various the Na-
 tures and Passions of those who crowd it. 5
 Of all their Numbers, how many do you
 imagine use to press their Services, to make
 their Court, and offer their Evidence to Men
 of Power, Popularity and Eloquence, who
 they think would have them to do any 10
 thing.

If any such should intrude themselves at
 this Trial, let your Wisdom, my Lords, dis-
 appoint their Forwardness; thus shall you 15
 appear to provide at once for the Safety of
 my Client, your own Reputations, and the
 Interest of all your Fellow-Citizens, against
 the dangerous Encroachments of Power.
 And here give me leave to detach you from 20
oral Evidence, and not to suffer the unvari-
 able Justice of my Client's Plea to be rested
 upon the Affections of any Witness, which
 may be formed, moulded, and influenced
 with great Ease. Let me deal in Arguments; 25
 then shall I refute their Charge by Circum-
 stances more striking than Light itself:
 Facts shall be opposed to Facts; Motives to
 Motives, and Conclusion to Conclusion.

THERE-

THEREFORE, with Pleasure, I heard the weighty and elegant Defence made by *Marcus Crassus*, who spoke to the *Neapolitan* Seditions; the beating of the *Alexandrian* Envoys at *Puteoli*; and the Goods of *Pallas*. I wished he had likewise touched upon the Affair of *Dion*; but I do not see how that could be to your Purpose, since the Person who committed the Fact is not even afraid to own it. For *Publius Ascitius*, who was impeached as aiding and abetting in the Action, was acquitted upon his Trial. But of what Nature must that Crime be, when the Man who committed it does not deny it; the Man who has denied it, is acquitted? And shall it endanger only the Person who was not accessory to the Perpetration, nay, who cannot be presumed to be conscious to the Intention of such an Act? But if that Prosecution did more Service than it occasioned Reflections to *Ascitius*, shall thy Slander affect the Man who has not been suspected, who has not even been belied as accessory to such an Action?

BUT it will be said, *Ascitius* was acquitted by Collusion in the Prosecution. This Objection may be easily answered in this Place; and especially by me, who, in that
 Prose-

Prosecution, acted for the Defendant. But *Cælius* is of Opinion, that *Ascitius* had the best Plea. But however that may be, he thinks it ought to be quite distinct from his own. Not only *Cælius*, but other Youths 5 of the finest natural and acquired Parts, endowed with the most upright Intentions, and the most excellent Knowledge, I mean the *COPONII*, *Titus* and *Caius*, who, of all others, discovered the most sensible Affliction 10 at the Death of *Dion*, and were charmed by his Hospitality, and the more agreeable Entertainment of his Learning and Humanity. *Dion* lived, as you have heard, with *L. Lucceius*, to whom he was known at 15 *Alexandria*; and the Character which he, or his Brother, who is a Man of the greatest Distinction, shall give to *Marcus Cælius*, you may hear from themselves, if they are brought into Court. But let me leave that, and at 20 length proceed to the Merits of the Cause.

I OBSERVED, my Lords, that you have, with great Attention, heard my Friend, *L. Herennius*, in whom, tho' in a great measure 25 you were enchanted by his Wit and Manner of Expression, yet have I sometimes been afraid that this sly subtle Method of introducing a Charge, might gradually and insensibly,

sibly, at last, insinuate itself into your Belief.
 For he talked a great deal about Luxury; a
 great deal about Lust; a great deal about the
 Vices of Youth; and a great deal about their
 5 Manners: And the same Gentleman, who, in
 all other Lights of Life is gentle, and an
 agreeable Master of that mild Humanity
 which wins the Affections of Mankind, was,
 on this Occasion, as testy as an old Uncle, a
 10 Censor, or a School-Master. He rated *Marcus Cælius* more than ever a Parent did a
 Son, and gave him a long Lecture upon In-
 temperance and Incontinency. What shall
 I say, my Lords? I could not blame you for
 15 attentively listening to a morose harsh Me-
 thod of speaking, which, I own, shocks
 myself.

THE first Part, which gave me no great
 20 Concern, run upon *Cælius* being intimate
 with my Friend *Bellia*; that he supped with
 him; that he often visited at his House; and
 was his Friend when he stood for the Præ-
 torship. These things, as they are evidently
 25 false, give me no Concern. For those who,
 he says, supped with them, are either
 absent, or under a Necessity of giving in
 the same Evidence. Nor am I startled
 at his saying that *Cælius* was his Mate
 in

in the *Lupercal* Games. For the Company of the true *Luperci* is of wild, clownish, and rustic Original; and the Institution of their pastoral Meetings is more ancient than that of Government and Laws. 5
Since its *Fellows* not only mutually accuse each other, but in their Accusations mention even their very *Bye-Laws*, left to those who are not in the Secret, they should appear to act irregularly. 10

BUT, waving all this, I shall proceed to what gives me more Concern. His Schooling upon Dalliance was long, but gentle; it appeared to be rather a Declamation 15 than an Invective, and therefore begat the more Attention. As for my Friend *Publius Clodius*, while he gave himself high and violent Airs, and, in all the Rage of Passion, dashed about his tragical Words in a furious 20 Tone, I thought indeed well enough of his Eloquence, but it gave me no great Apprehension; for I have seen him wrangling in the same manner in other Causes, and all to no purpose. But now, *Balbus*, by 25 your good Leave, I will answer you, if I may presume, if I may venture to defend a Man who never discouraged a Banquet of
K any

any kind, who deals in Perfumes, and has been at the *Baii*.

It is true, I have both seen and heard of a
 5 great Number in this City, who having not
 only gently slipt, and as we say dipt their
 Finger-ends into this manner of Life, but
 plunged their whole Youth into Pleasures,
 have sometimes emerg'd; have, as the Saying
 is, *husbanded* what they had, and at last
 10 proved great and eminent Men. For every
 body admits that some Scope is to be given
 to young Men; and that the Effusion of the
 youthful Passions is directed by Nature her-
 self. If by their Eruption no Life is endan-
 15 gered, no House demolished, then are they
 generally thought to be gentle and venial.

BUT to me, from the common Stain of
 20 Youth, you seemed to endeavour to fix some
 Charge upon *Cælius*. Therefore all that
 deep Silence, with which your Speech was
 heard, proceeded from the Reflections we
 were led into upon the general Immorality
 of the Age, from a particular Instance. But it
 25 is easy to bring a Charge against Luxury. It
 would employ me till Night, should I endea-
 vour to go thro' all that may be said on that
 Head. A Declamation on Debaucheries,
 Adul-

Adulteries, Wantonness and Expences, were
endless. Tho' you had not in your Eye any
particular Person, yet Vice in general is a
Subject that would admit of a grave and
copious Arraignment. But, my Lords, your 5
Wisdom will direct you not to wander from
the particular Charge, nor when the Prosecutor
shall stimulate your Severity and Gravity, and
point it against Crimes, against Vices, against
Immoralities and against the Times, will you 10
discharge your Indignation upon a Man who
is brought to your Bar, and who, not by his own
Crimes, but the Vices of many, is now liable
to an Imputation by him unmerited.

15
THEREFORE dare I not venture to return
that Answer to your Severity which it de-
serves; for I meant to be an Advocate, and
to plead for some Indulgence to the Sallies of
Youth. This, I say, I dare not venture 20
upon, nor urge the Privilege of green Years:
I disclaim the Plea, which to all others is
admitted of. All I beg is, if there lies against
this Age a general Charge, which I own
to be heavy, that neither the Crimes of others, 25
nor the Vices of the Times and Age, may
operate to the Prejudice of my Client. At
the same time, while I beg for this, I don't

refuse to answer pointedly to all the Crimes
that are charged upon him in particular.

THERE are two Charges, one relating to
5 Gold, the other to Poison, urged against the
same Person: It is said that Gold was bor-
rowed from *Clodia*, and Poison prepared to
dispatch her. Every thing else urged is not
criminal, but scandalous, and more properly
10 the Subject of a scolding Bout, than a public
Trial. To call *Adulterer*, *Whoremaster*,
Pimp, is to rail, not to accuse. For such
Charges there is not so much as a Foundation
where ye can fix them; they are oppro-
15 brious *Terms*, rashly poured out, without any
Grounds, by a passionate Accuser.

I HAVE the Source, I have the Author, I
have the precise Principle and Rise of all
20 these Calumnies in my Eye. There was a
a Necessity for Gold; he borrowed it of
Clodia; he borrowed it without any Evi-
dence, and he had it as long as he pleased.
Here I can perceive a strong Presumption of
25 a certain prodigious Intimacy. He had a
Mind to kill the same Lady; he looked out
for Poison; he applied to all he could; he
prepared it; he fixed on the Place; he
brought it. Here again I can discern the
most

most inveterate Hatred, with a most cruel Quarrel broken out. In this whole Affair, my Lords, we have to do with *Clodia*, a Woman not only noble but notorious, of whom I shall say nothing, but so far as I am obliged for the Vindication of my Client. 5

BUT, *Cneius Domitius*, your distinguished Penetration informs you that our Business lies with her only; if she denies that she lent Gold to *Cælius*; if she does not affirm that he prepared Poison for her, we are guilty of Slander, by our mentioning the Mother of a Family in a Manner that is inconsistent with the Decency which the Sanctity of Matrons requires. But were that Lady out of the Question, since there neither would be a Crime of which my Client could be convicted, nor any Money to carry on the Prosecution, what ought we, who are his Advocates, to do, but to repel those who attack us? This indeed I would do with great Keeness, did there not subsist Animosities betwixt me and that Lady's Husband; — I mean her Brother; — I still fall into that Mistake. — Now I will act coolly, nor advance a Step farther than my Duty and the Interest of my Client oblige me; for I have always thought it unbecoming me to harbour

any Resentment against a Woman; especially a Lady who has the Character of extending her Good-nature to all the World, rather than of shewing her Spite to any particular
 5 Person.

BUT let me first ask herself, whether she chuses that I should treat her in a serious, solemn, old-fashioned, or in a gentle, com-
 10 plaisant, gallant, Manner? If she chuses the four Manner and Fashion, then must I raise some of the hoary Gentlemen from the Shades, and not such a smock-fac'd Gentleman as she is fond of; but these bristle-
 15 Beards which we see in old Images and Statues, one who will bang my Lady, and speak for me, if she should scold me into Silence. Let some such in her own Family start up; there is the BLIND old Gentleman, the most
 20 proper that can be, for his not being capable to see her will save him a great deal of Grief. Supposing now he were to start up, such would be his Behaviour, and such his Language; " Woman! What hast thou to do
 25 " with *Cælius*? What with a Stripling?
 " What with a Stranger? Why was you so
 " intimate with him as to lend him Mo-
 " ney? Or why such a Foe as to dread his
 " Poison? Hast thou not seen thy Father?
 Hast

" Hast thou not heard that thy Uncle, thy
 " Grandfather, thy Great Grandfather, and
 " his Father were Consuls? Art thou insen-
 " sible that thou wert married to *Quintus*
 " *Metellus*, a brave Nobleman, and a worthy 5
 " Patriot, who no sooner left the Threshold
 " of his own House, than he rose superior
 " to almost all his Countrymen in Merit, in
 " Glory and Dignity: When thou thyself, of
 " noble Descent, by him wert married into 10
 " an illustrious Family, why was *Cælius* so
 " much thy Intimate? Was he thy Cousin,
 " thy Relation, or the Bosom-Friend of thy
 " Husband? He was none of these. What
 " could be the Reason, but Lust, hood- 15
 " wink'd Lust? If thou art unmoved at see-
 " ing the manly Images of our Family,
 " ought not my Daughter, ought not the
 " Example of that *Quinta Clodia*, to have
 " invited thee into a Competition for the 20
 " Female Glory of domestic Virtue?
 " Ought not *Clodia*, that vestal Virgin, who
 " embracing her triumphant Father, pre-
 " vented his being torn from his Car by a
 " spiteful Tribune of the People? Why art 25
 " thou affected more with the Vices of a
 " Brother, than with the Virtues of a Father
 " and a Grandfather, which have devolved
 " from me upon the Females, as well as the

" Males of my Family? Did I tear my
 " Country from the Thoughts of a Peace
 " with *Pyrrhus*? And shalt thou daily enter
 " into Intrigues of obscene Amours? Did I
 5 " bring in the Water that supplies this City,
 " that thou mightest use it to thy incestuous
 " Purposes? Did I lay a Road, that it might
 " serve as a Parade for thee and thy Train of
 " Gallants?"

10

BUT what am I doing, my Lords! I have
 introduced so grave a Character, that I am
 afraid the same *Appius* may suddenly turn
 to the other Side, and with his censorial.
 15 Severity, begin to school *Cælius*. But I shall
 speak of that presently, and in such a Man-
 ner, my Lords, that I hope to vindicate the
 Morals of *Marcus Cælius* to the severest
 Inquisitors. But you, Madam, for now I
 20 speak to you not in a borrowed, but my own
 Character, if you dream of proving your
 Actions, your Words, your Forgeries, your
 Machinations, your Arguments, there is a
 Necessity of your accounting for and laying
 25 forth all this excessive Intimacy, this excessive
 Friendship, this excessive Familiarity. While
 our Accusers talk so freely of Intrigues,
 Amours, Adulteries, the *Baths*, Banquets,
 Collations, Songs, Concerts, and Pleasure-
 Boats,

Boats, they at the same time own that they have their Instructions from you. But since you was so blindly, so wilfully, so unaccountably obstinate, as to be brought into the Forum and before this Court, you must 5 either disown and disprove all they have advanced, or confess there is no Credit to be given either to your Accusation or to your Evidence.

BUT if you would have me accost you in a more polite Manner, I will treat you thus; I will remove that grim, that almost savage old Fellow; I will pitch upon one of these Gentlemen present; your younger Bro- 15 ther rather than any, who is quite a Master in this kind of Politeness; who has a mighty Liking for you, and from a strange natural *Fearfulness*, and haunted, I suppose, by some Phantoms in the dark, lays every Night with 20 you, like a *little Master* as he is with his *elder Sister*. Suppose then that he thus accosts you, "Why, my Sister, in this Flurry? "Why in this Distraction of Mind? Why "shriek out, and make so much ado about a 25 "Trifle? You have gazed upon your hand- "some young Neighbour; his delicate Complexion, his graceful Shape, his Face and "Eyes have smit you. You wish to see him often;

" often; sometimes a Woman of Quality
 " appears in the same Gardens; all your
 " Riches can't fix in your Arms the young
 " Gentleman, tho' not yet emancipated from
 5 " an old griping Father. He spurns, he spits
 " at, he undervalues your Presents. — Go
 " somewhere else. — You have Gardens near
 " the *Tyber*; and have taken great care to fit
 " up an Apartment near to where all our
 10 " young Gentlemen bathe; from thence
 " you may read their *Proposals*. Why do
 " you tease one who loathes you?"

LET me now, *Cælius*, address you in your
 15 Turn, and here will I personate the Authority and Gravity of a Father: But in what Character of a Father am I to act? In that of *Cæcilius's* passionate, unrelenting Sire;

20 ————— *Now all my Soul is in a Blaze,
 And my Heart labours with its swelling
 Passion.*

Or, shall I assume that other Character;
 25 *O Wretch! O Reprobate!*
 But these Fathers have Souls of Flint.
*What can I say, or what can I propose,
 When thy foul Deeds defeat my best Intentions?*
The

The Reproaches of such a Father would be almost intolerable.

Why did'st thou court the Neighbourhood of Whores?

From the gross Baits why did'st thou not retire? 5

Why clasp a lewd Adulteress to thy Bosom?

Here squander, dissipate, you may for me.

If griping Want shall seize thee thou must mourn.

I have a Competency that will serve 10

To prop the stooping Remnant of my Years.

To this dis-spirited decrepid old Man *Cælius* might answer, That he had been enticed from the right Path, by no Lust of the Eye. 15

But how can you prove that? — No Extravagance of Expence; no Diminution of Fortune; no running into Debt. — But the Thing was talked of. — But who can help being talked of in a City so full of 20 Scandal? Is it surprising that a Neighbour of this Lady should be scandalized, when her own Brother could not escape the Slanders of the Malicious? But to a gentle indulgent Parent, who should talk at this Rate; 25

Has he broke open Doors? Let them be repaired. Has he torn a Garment? Let it be mended. The Boy has a ready Apology, for
in

in such Circumstances, how easy is it for one to be vindicated? I speak nothing of this Lady; but if there is one of a Character different from hers, who has been a common
 5 Prostitute, who has always lived in an avowed Lewdness with some one or other, who orders her Gardens, Houses and Bagnios to be thrown open to a promiscuous Traffic in every Impurity; who even maintains young
 10 Men, whose Purse makes amends for the sparing Allowances of close-fisted Fathers; if she is wanton in Widowhood, insolent in Airs, profuse in Wealth, and if her Lusts should lead her into a *keeping Expence*, can I
 15 think a Man an Adulterer, who shall make some free Addresses to such a Lady?

I MAY be told; " Is it thus you train up
 " young Gentlemen? Did his Father recom-
 20 " mend him, when a Boy, and deliver him to
 " you, that you might initiate his Youth into
 " Lewdness and Pleasures? Wilt thou be an
 " Advocate for such a Course of Life and
 " Studies?" My Lords, if there is a Man en-
 25 dued with such Fortitude of Soul, with such Dispositions to Virtue and Chastity, as to reject all Pleasures, as to finish his Carreer of Life with the Toils of the Body and the Pursuits of the Mind; a Man who has no Taste for
 Repose,

Repose, none for Relaxation, none for the Pleasures of his Equals, none for Diversions, none for Banquets; who is persuaded that in Life there ought to be no other End proposed that does not unite the *Great* with the *Graceful*, I shall freely own, that he is furnished, that he is embellished with certain supernatural Qualifications. Such, as I take it, were the *Camilli*, the *Fabricii*, the *Curii*, and all those Heroes, who, from a narrow Foundation, reared this Empire to such Glory and Greatness.

BUT Virtues, such as theirs, are not now to be found in the Lives, nay, scarce in the Writings of Mankind. Even the very Scrolls, to which this antiquated Severity was committed, are out of Fashion, not only with us who have professed such an Institution, and such a Method of Living, more by our *Actions* than our *Words*; but even with the *Greeks*, those very learned Philosophers, who when they could no longer practise what was honest and great in Life, were still at Liberty to recommend it in their Speeches and Writings. Another System of Morality has prevailed, since new Customs were introduced into Greece.

FOR this Reason some of their Sages
main-

maintained that Pleasure is the ultimate End of the Actions of the *Wife*; nor have even Men of Learning been averse to that shameful Tenet. Others have thought that Dignity
5 ought to be united with Pleasure, that they might have an Opportunity to *talk* Things, which in their own Natures had a direct Repugnancy to one another, into Union. They who maintained that the only way to
10 Glory was through Toil, are now left almost solitary within their Schools, for many are the Blandishments that Nature herself has implanted within us, and which the Lethargy of Virtue indulges; many slippery Paths does
15 she point out to Youth in which they can scarce either stand or tread, without a Misfortune or a Fall; and great is the pleasing Variety she affords, with which Mankind not only in their Bloom, but even in their
20 Maturity, are apt to be enchanted. Therefore, if by Chance you find a Man whose Eye despises the Beauty of Order, who indulges no Sensation of Smell, Touch or Taste, and whose Ears shut out all Har-
25 mony, I, and a few others perhaps, may think that the Gods have *favoured* such a Person, but many more will think that they have *curfed* him.

LET us therefore abandon this Path which is now desert, uncouth, and choaked with Weeds and Briars; let some Allowances be made to Youth; let it enjoy more Liberty; let not Pleasure be debarred in every Instance; let not Reason, uninfluenced and unbiassed by *Passion*, always take Place. To *Passion* and Pleasure let Reason sometimes give way, provided, when that is the Case, they are regulated by Decency and Moderation. Let the young Man be tender of his own Chastity; let him not injure that of another; let him not dissipate his Fortune; let him not be eat up by Mortgages; let him not invade another Man's House, nor his Reputation. Let him not aim Slander at the Chaste, Defilement at the Uncorrupted, nor Infamy at the Worthy. Let him terrify none by Violence, nor over-reach them by Treachery; let him be free from premeditated Guilt. Lastly, when he shall obey the Calls of Pleasure, when he shall allot some Part of his Time to the Diversions of his Age, and these trifling Pursuits of Youth, let him sometimes recal his Thoughts to the Concerns of his Family, the Concerns of the Forum, the Concerns of his Country, that he may seem to have discarded through Satiety, and despised from Experience, those
Objects

Objects which he had not before viewed with the cool Eye of Reason.

AND indeed, my Lords, there have been many great Men and illustrious Citizens in our
 5 Days, in the Days of our Fathers and Forefathers, in whom, when the Ebullitions of youthful Desire have subsided, the most excellent Virtues have in more advanced Life sprung up. I need not descend to Particu-
 10 lars, you yourselves may recollect them, for I am unwilling, while I speak of any brave and honourable Man, to join the *Mention* of his smallest Failing to the *Praise* of his greatest Perfection. Did I think myself at
 15 Freedom to do this, I might produce Instances of many great and accomplished Persons, and yet touch on the youthful Licentiousness of some, on the extravagant Luxury, the enormous Debt, and expensive Pleasures of others.
 20 Vices, which afterwards being effaced by many Virtues, might be excused by the craving Appetite of Youth.

BUT, *Marcus Caelius*, for I can now with
 25 more Boldness mention his honest Pursuits, since presuming on your Wisdom I have admitted of some Slips in his Conduct, can be taxed with no Luxury, no Extravagance,
 no

no Debt, no Lewdness in Revels or *Récesses*.
 Age, far from diminishing, even adds to
 the Lusts of the Belly and the Palate. But
 Intrigues, and what we call Dalliances,
 whose Cravings use to be a good deal mortified in Men of more sedate Understanding,
 (for they soon and suddenly fade,) these
 never engrossed, never encumbered him.
 You heard him when he spoke for himself;
 ye heard him before, when he spoke as a
 Prosecutor; I say this to defend his Person,
 and not to boast of his Genius; your Wisdom directed you to observe the Nature of
 his Speech, the Command, the Copiousness of
 his Periods and Expressions. There you observed in him not only the Effulgence of
 Genius, (which often, without Cultivation, has
 irresistible Force) but a Language, if I am not
 prejudiced in his Favour, directed by Reason,
 founded upon laudable Studies, and polished
 by Care and Vigilance.

AND know ye, my Lords, that it is hard
 to find the Passions which are laid to the
 Charge of *Cælius*, and those Pursuits which
 I have illustrated, united in the same Person.
 For it is impossible that a Mind engrossed by
 Lewdness, by Amours, by Desire, by Passion,
 often embarrassed by Wealth, sometimes

checked by Want, can support the Activity, nay, the Thinking that is required in forming an Eloquence, even such as mine, however slender it may be.

5

Do you imagine there can be any other Reason why there are now, and ever have been, so few who have applied to the Study of Eloquence, tho' its Prizes are so tempting, 10 its Practice so bewitching, its Praise, Popularity, and Glory so great? All Pleasure must be spurned away; all delightful Pursuits abandoned; Diversions, Laughing, and Entertainments; nay, my Lords, almost the 15 very Company of our intimate Friends must be relinquished. These are the Hardships that deter Mankind from the painful Study of this Art, and not the Defects either of Genius or Education.

20

BUT if *Cælius* had abandoned himself to a scandalous Course of Life, would he, while a very Youth, have arraigned a Man of Consular Dignity? Would a Person, if 25 averse to Application, and bewitched with Pleasure, have daily gone thro' his Exercise on this Parade? Would he have courted Enmity? Would he have brought Impeachments? Would he have ventured to incur a Capital

Capital Danger? Would he, while all the People of *Rome* were Spectators, have, during so many Months, struggled either for Safety or Renown?

BUT is that Neighbourhood he affected, no ways rank? Does the World whisper? Do the Waters of the *Baie* murmur nothing? Yes; they don't murmur only, but they roar out, that the Lewdness of this Woman is so barefaced, that she has not now recourse to Solitude, to Darkness, and the blind Haunts of criminal Intercourse, but openly avows the most scandalous Practices, before all the World, and in broad Day. But if any Man thinks that even simple Fornication is to be denied to Youth, I own he is very severe: I dare not contradict him; but I will venture to say, that by such an Assertion he condemns not only the Licentiousness of this Age, but even the Customs and Indulgences of our Ancestors. For when was it not practised? When found fault with? When not tolerated? Or, in short, when was there a time in which a thing allowable was disallowed? Here will I fix the Nature of the Cause; I shall name no Lady, but leave that to your own Conjectures.

5 If a single Woman should set her Doors
 open to the Lusts of the World, and openly
 profess herself of the Order of Whores, and
 drive a Trade in making Entertainments for
 10 mere Strangers: If she shall practise this in
 the City, in her Gardens, and amidst the
 numerous Company at the *Baia*; in short,
 if she should behave in such a manner, as
 that by her Gesture, nay, by her Dress and
 15 Equipage, and not only by her Eyes sparkling,
 or her Tongue tipt with Lust, but by Huggs,
 by Kisses on the Water, in the Pleasure-
 Boat, and at the Banquet, she appears not
 practised only, but insolent in Lewdness; if,
 20 I say, a young Gentleman shall be along
 with such a Woman, give me leave to ask
 you, *Herennius*, whether you would consi-
 der him as an Adulterer, or a Gallant; as
 designing to storm her Virtue, or to satiate
 25 her Venery?

Clodia, I now forget my Wrongs; I now
 put off all Resentment for the Anguish I
 25 bore; I pass over your Acts of Cruelty to my
 Family while I was absent; let not what I
 have said be applied to you. But as the
 Prosecutors pretend that they have the Im-
 peachment upon this Affair from you, and
 that they are to prove the Fact by your
 Evidence,

Evidence, I demand of yourself whether, if there lives a Woman of such a Character as I have just now described, mighty unlike indeed to you, but a profess, an avowed Prostitute, you would look upon a young Gentleman who should have an Affair with her, as an abandoned profligate Wretch? If you are not the Woman I have drawn, as I hope you are not, what can they object to *Cælius*? But if they should admit that you are she, why should we dread a Charge which you despise? Give us therefore Liberty and Scope to make our Defence; for either your Chastity will clear *Cælius* from the Imputation of doing any thing flagrant, or your Impudence will be a strong Plea in his, and other Gentlemen's Favour.

BUT as I seem now to have weather'd the Shelves and Shallows of my Speech, the rest of my Voyage appears to be smooth and calm. *Cælius* is charged with two of the most flagitious Crimes against the same Lady, with *Gold*, which he is said to have borrowed from *Clodia*; and with *Poison*, by which he was to kill her. He, according to the Prosecutors, borrowed the Money, that he might give it to the Slaves of *Lucius Lucceius*, by whom he was to murder *Dio the Alexandrian*,

150 CICERO'S ORATION

drian, who then lived with *Luceius*. Heavy is the Charge, either to way-lay Embassadors, or to tamper with Slaves to murder their Master's Guest. This was a Design
5 full of Guilt, full of Audaciousness.

In this Charge give me leave to ask, whether *Cælius* did, or did not acquaint *Clodia* with his Purpose in borrowing the Money?
10 If he did not tell her, why did she give it him? If he did, she was intentionally equally criminal with him. What! did you dare to take Gold out of your Shrine? Did you plunder that plundering *Venus* of yours
20 of its Ornaments? Especially as you knew to what a detestable Purpose that Gold was to be applied; to the Murder of an Envoy; to fasten an eternal Stain of Infamy upon *Lucius Luceius*, a Man of the greatest
15 Sanctity and Integrity: Sure your generous Soul ought not to have been accessory, your hospitable Roof subservient, nor your charitable *Venus* assisting to so detestable a Crime.

25 *Balbus* saw all this; and he tells us, that he told you that *Clodia* was in the dark, and that *Cælius* had told her he borrowed the Gold to dress himself out for the Plays. If he was so intimate with *Clodia*, as you pretend,

pretend, since you give us so many Instances
of his Lewdness, sure he would have told
her what he designed to do with the Gold;
if he was not so intimate with her, she
would not have supplied him with it. There- 5
fore, O extravagant Woman! if *Cælius* told
you true, you was conscious to the Crime
which the Gold you gave was to perpetrate;
if he did not tell you, then did you not give it.

10

BUT why should I confute this Crime by
Arguments, which I may bring without
Number? Give me leave to say that the
Manners of *Marcus Cælius* are far removed
from the Blackness of so much Guilt; it is 15
by no means credible that it should enter
into the Head of a Man of so much Capa-
city, and so much Wisdom, to entrust an
Affair so heinously criminal, to strange
and unknown Slaves. There are Things 20
which my own Privileges, and those of other
Pleaders, give me a Right to demand to
know of the Accuser: Where *Cælius* met
with the Slaves of *Lucceius*? How he got
Access to them? If by himself? How rash 25
he was? If by another? Name the Man.
In the Course of my Pleading, I am at Li-
berty to go thro' all the darkest Circum-
stances, and there would be found no room,

no Power, no Probability of his being aiding or abetting, none of his having Reason to hope either to accomplish, or to skreen the Crime, no Proof, nor even the smallest
5 Tract of so detestable an Action.

BUT for the sake of Brevity, and lest it should be thought that I have laboured to prepare an Oration, I omit all these, as they
10 are peculiar to an Orator, (tho' I might have made some Advantage of them, not through any Excellence of my Capacity, but by the Experience and Practice which I have at the Bar) for, my Lords, I have the Evidence of
15 *Lucius Lucceius*, a Man of the greatest Sanctity, and Witness of the greatest Weight; a Man whom you easily allow worthy to be joined with you in the Oath of Integrity; who certainly must have heard, and had he
20 heard, he neither would have slighted, nor put up with such a Crime committed by *Lucius Cælius*, against his Honour and Interest. Would a Man, endued with such Good-nature, such Affections, Arts and Erudition, have slighted
25 the Danger of the Person whom these very Studies endeared to his Soul? And would he, who would have resented such Villany against a Stranger, have neglected to prevent it, when aimed at his Guest? Would the Man, who would have been afflicted, had it
been

been perpetrated by those whom he did not know, have slighted it, had it been attempted by his own Friends? Would an Action, which had it been committed in a Field or public Place must have drawn his Reproaches, 5 have been passed over by him as a Matter of Indifference, tho' committed in this City, and under his own Roof? Would a learned Man, when another very learned Man was to be taken off by Treachery, have winked 10 at the Design, which he would not have passed by had it been aimed at a Clown? But, my Lords, why do I keep you any longer? Possess yourselves of the Veracity and Weight of this Witness, on his Oath, and 15 then weigh with Exactness every Tittle of his Evidence. Read the *Evidence of Lucceius*.

The Evidence of Lucceius is read in Court.

20

WOULD ye wish for more? Do you imagine that Truth and Justice are in Person to give an oral Evidence? This is the Defence of Innocence herself; this is the Speech of Justice; this is the genuine Voice of Truth. 25 The Charge has no Presumption to support it. The Crime has no Arguments to prove it. In the Business which is said to be perpetrated, there is not the smallest Appearance of Consultation, of Time or Place; No-body
is

is produced as witness; No-body named as
 accessory: The whole Charge proceeds from
 the infamous, the cruel, the guilty, the lust-
 ful House of an Enemy: But the House
 5 which is aspersed with that Imputation of
 heinous Guilt, is full of Integrity, Huma-
 nity and Truth: From this House an Evi-
 dence is read to you upon Oath. But were
 even the Affair we are now debating dubious;
 which is more probable, that a rash, impu-
 10 dent, spiteful Woman has forged a Crime,
 or that a grave, wise, prudent Person, when
 upon Oath, has given Evidence with the
 strictest Veracity?

51 THE Charge of poisoning now only re-
 mains to be discussed, of which I can neither
 see the Foundation, nor unravel the Design.
 For what Reason could *Cælius* have to endea-
 20 vour to poison that Lady? That he might
 not pay back the Gold? Pray did she de-
 mand it? To avoid the Discovery of his
 Guilt? But who charged him? Who would
 even have mentioned it, had not *Cælius* im-
 25 peached a certain Person? But you have like-
 wise heard *Herennius* own, that he should
 never have dropt a Word in prejudice of
Cælius, had he not twice impeached his
 Friend, after being once acquitted of the
 same

same Crime. Is it then probable that such a Crime was committed upon no Motive? And do you not perceive that a Charge of the most heinous Nature is trump up, that it may seem to have been in order to perpetrate another Piece of Villany? 5

To whom then did he commit the Execution of it? Whom did he make use of as his Accomplice? Whom as his Confident? 10 Whom did he trust with the Management of a Villany, that so nearly affected his Reputation and Safety? The Answer is, *The Slaves of a Woman*. And was this Man, whom you admit to have Parts, tho' you 15 spitefully strip him of every thing else, so stupid, as to put all that was valuable to him in the Hands of strange Slaves? But what kind of Slaves too! For that is a material Circumstance. Why Slaves who lived in a 20 saucy bold Familiarity with their Mistress; Slaves, whom he knew enjoyed Privileges above the Rank of Slavery. For who, my Lords, does not see this! Or who is not sensible that in a House, where the Mistress of a 25 Family is a common Prostitute, where nothing is done that may be carried abroad; where a Traffic is carried on in Impurity, Lusts, Luxury, in short, in every unheard-of Crime

Crime and Scandal, that in such a House
 Slaves are not Slaves, since to them every
 thing is entrusted, and by them managed!
 Who deal in the same Pleasures! Who are
 5 let into every dark Scene! And who even
 partake in some measure of their daily Ex-
 pences and Luxuries! Did not *Cælius* then
 see this? For if he was so familiar with the
 Lady as you would have him, he knew like-
 10 wise that these Slaves were the Companions
 of their Mistress. But if he did not enter
 into such Familiarities as you charge him
 with, how comes he to be so very intimate
 with her Slaves?

15 BUT have they forged a Probability for
 their poisoning Affair? Whence was it got!
 How prepared! By what Means! To
 whom; and in what Place was it delivered!
 20 We are told that he had it at home, and that
 its Efficacy was tried upon a Slave who was
 prepared for the Experiment; and by whose
 sudden Death he proved the Force of the
 Venom. Immortal Gods! why do you either
 25 sometimes wink at the most heinous Guilt
 of Mankind? Or why reserve present Vil-
 lany to future Punishment? For I myself
 saw, I drunk that Draught, the most bitter
 I ever tasted in my Life, when *Quintus*
Metellus

Metellus was snatched from the Arms, from the Bosom of his Country; and when that Man, who thought himself born for this Empire, was in the Bloom of Life, in the Vigour of Health, and the Perfection of Strength, on the third Day after he had been distinguished in the Senate, in the Rostrum and in the Government, basely taken off from every good Man and this City; at the very Time of his Death, tho' in other respects his Senses were clouded, yet the last Pang he felt was for his Country. When fixing his Eyes upon me weeping, in a broken ghastly Tone, he intimated what a Storm was lowring over this City, and what Distractions were brooding in this Government; and when frequently striking that Wall which was common to *Catulus* and him, often did he name *Catulus*, often me, and often, very often, his Country; so that Death was not near so bitter to Him, as the Thoughts of his Country, and Me being deprived of our best Protection.

HAD not the sudden Effects of a guilty Draught carried this Hero off, in what manner, when Consular, would he have opposed his Cousin in the Carreer of his Furies, since, in the Hearing of the Senate, when Consul, he

he declared he would kill him with his own Hand, when but beginning and aiming at his desperate Practices? Shall then a Woman who comes from that very House, dare to mention
 5 the quick Operations of Poison? Is not she afraid, lest the House itself should whisper some Discovery! Does she not tremble at the Remembrance of the conscious Walls, and of that fatal, that mournful Night! But let
 10 me return to the Charge itself: For at the Mention of that great, that brave Man, the Tears I shed weaken my Expression, and the Grief I feel disorders my Senses.

15 BUT still it is not said whence this Poison came, and how it was prepared. They tell us that it was entrusted to *Publius Licinius*, a virtuous modest young Man, and the Friend of *Cælius*; that an Appointment was made
 20 with the Slaves, that they should come to the *Senian Bath*; that *Licinius* was likewise to come thither, and deliver to them the Box with the Poison. Here I first ask, To what Purpose could it serve to carry it to the
 25 appointed Place? Why did not these Slaves come to the House of *Cælius*? If so great Intimacy, so great an Intercourse subsisted betwixt *Cælius* and *Clodia*, what Suspicion could it have raised, tho' the Lady's Slave
 had

had been seen at his House? But if Aversion began now to get the better, their Intimacy was at an end, and the Breach proclaimed. This, this was the Source of all this mighty Concern, of all this Guilt, and of all these Crimes. Nay, but says our Antagonist, when the Slaves discovered to the Lady the Affair, and the criminal Practices of *Cælius*, from the abundance of her Cunning, she ordered them to promise him every thing. But that she might have plain Proofs of the Poison when delivered by *Licinius*, she ordered the *Senian Bath* to be the Place appointed, that she might send some Friends thither to lye in Ambush, that when *Licinius* should come in order to deliver the Poison, they might rush out and seize him.

I THINK, my Lords, there is a very easy Method of confuting all these Allegations. Why should she pitch upon the public Baths, where I don't think there is any Conveniency where Gentlemen in full Dress can be hid? For if they were placed in the Entrance of the Bath, they must be seen; but if they were to thrust themselves into the inner Part, that must be very incommodious for Persons who had on Shoes and upper Garments; and they might not have been admitted,

admitted, unless perhaps that powerful Lady
 had trucked her Farthing-Hire with the Bag-
 nio-Keeper, and wheedled herself into his
 good Graces. And indeed I was mighty
 full of Expectation that I should know who
 5 these *good* Men and *true* are, who are said
 to be the Evidences that are to prove to a
 Demonstration the seizing this Poison; for as
 yet none of them are named. But I don't
 10 doubt but they are Men of great Weight;
 first, as they are intimate with such a Lady;
 secondly, since they had undertaken to
 squeeze themselves into a Bath, a Favour,
 that with all the Interest she has, she never
 15 could have obtained, but from Men of the
 strictest Honour and the most consummate
 Dignity. But what do I talk of the Dig-
 nity of such Witnesses? You have a Proof
 of their Valour and Fidelity. They lurked
 20 in a Bagnio. Admirable Witnesses indeed!
 Then they rushed out all of a sudden. Very
 grave Fellows upon my word! For thus they
 have cooked up their Story, " He held the
 " Box in his Hand; he made an Essay to
 25 " give it away, but before he could do it,
 " these noble nameless Witnesses of a sud-
 " den started out; but that as *Licinius* was
 " stretching his Hand out to deliver the
 " Box, the Surprize which these Gentle-
 " men's

“men’s sudden Appearance gave him,
 “made him run away.” Great is the Power
 of Truth, which of herself easily prevails
 against all the Abilities, the Cunning, the
 Industry of Mankind, and against all the 5
 Plots of confederated Malice.

BUT all this idle Tale of that Female
 Dabler in old poetical Chimeras, how loose,
 how improbable, how inextricably perplext 10
 is it? For how could so many Men, for
 they could not be few, both that the seiz-
 ing *Licinius* might be done with Ease, and
 that the Thing might be proved by a Cloud
 of Witnesses, suffer *Licinius* to slip out of 15
 their Hands? Where was the Difficulty of
 taking him when he drew back in delivering
 the Box, more than if he had delivered it?
 For they were placed there to lay hold on
Licinius, that he might be taken in the 20
 Fact, either with the Poison about him, or
 after he had delivered it. This was all the
 Woman aimed at: This was all which they
 whom she employed had to do. Nor indeed
 can I imagine why you should say that they 25
 jumped out too rashly, and too hastily. This
 was the only thing required of them; for
 this Purpose were they placed there, that the
 Poison, the Plot, in short, the Villany of the
 VOL. II. M whole

whole Contrivance might appear to a Demonstration. Could they have rushed out at a better time, than when *Licinius* came in, than while he held the Box of Poison in his

5 Hand? For had he actually delivered it to the Slaves, the Lady's Friends would have instantly started out of the Bath and seized *Licinius*; he would then have protested on his Honour, and have denied that he had

10 delivered that Box; and if he had, how could they have convicted him? Would they have said that they saw him? In the first place, they must have run the risque of being themselves convicted of a very heinous

15 Crime; then they must have affirmed that they saw what, from the Place where they were hid, it was impossible they could see. It follows therefore, that they discovered themselves at the very instant when *Licinius*

20 came, when he produced the Box, when he stretched out his Hand, when he delivered the Poison. This then was the unravelling not of a Play, but of a Farce, in which, when there is no Meaning, a Fellow slips

25 out of their Hands, the Castanets rattle, and the Curtain is drawn.

LET me therefore ask why the Lady's Detachment suffered *Licinius*, while he was
wavering

wavering, uncertain, retreating, endeavouring to make off, to escape out of their Hands, why did they not seize him? Why did they not prove to the strongest Conviction, by his own Confession, to the Eyes of the World, 5 and upon the very face of the Thing itself, a Crime so heinous in its Nature? Were they afraid, so many against one; the Strong against the Feeble; the Brisk against the Dispirited, that they could not get the better? There is no Connection in the Thing, not a single Circumstance supports the Allegation, nor could the Crime be ever brought to an Issue. This whole Cause therefore is transferred from Arguments, from Presump- 15 tions, from those Circumstances by which the Truth is usually cleared up to the Evidence of Witnesses, such Witnesses, my Lords, as I wait for without the least Apprehension, nay, with some Degree of Satisfaction. 20

My Imagination longs to see, first the neat young Gentlemen, the Gallants of a rich noble Lady, and then those Heroes 25 posted by their She-Commander in Ambush, and keeping Garrison in a Bagnio. Let me ask then how, or in what manner, they were concealed? Sure it must be a Cavity, or

a Trojan Horse, which admitted and concealed such a Number of invincible Heroes, who were lifted to fight a Lady's Quarrel. I will oblige them to declare one thing ;
 5 Why so many and so brave Fellows did not, either as he was standing, seize, or as was flying, pursue one Person unattended, and, as ye perceive, unable to resist. This, take my word, they can never be able to
 10 account for, if they shall appear in this Court. I will give them leave to be as facetious and as witty as they please, nay, to be even eloquent over their Cups: But the Practice at the Bar and at the Board is different;
 15 the Arguments urged before a Bench are not the same with those on a Couch. Judges make a different Appearance from Rioters; and in short, the Light of the Sun is of another Nature than that of Lamps.
 20 Therefore, if they shall appear, we shall soon rub off all their Effeminacy, and all their Impertinence. But if they take my Advice, they will play another Game, they will make other Court, they will display their
 25 Talents in another Business. Let their Finery make a Figure in that Lady's Train. Let them out-spend every body else. Let them loiter, let them lie, let them dance
 Atten-

Attendance; but let them not attack the Life and Fortune of an innocent Man.

BUT it is said that these Slaves are made free by the Advice of Relations, Men of the greatest Eminence and Quality. At length it seems we have an Instance, in which this Lady is said to have done somewhat by the Advice and Approbation of her Relations, who are Men of Spirit and Resolution. But I should be glad to know, what is proved by this Manumission, whereby a Crime is either forged against *Cælius*, or an Opportunity of putting them to the Question taken away, or a reasonable Reward paid to Slaves, who are Masters of a great many Secrets. But the Relations were pleased with this Step: How should they be otherwise, since you yourself own that you communicated it to them not as a Story brought by others to you, but a Discovery of your own? Are we to be surprized if a Story detestably obscene arose out of this fictitious Box? But nothing can be imagined too bad for such a Woman to do. The Thing is talked of, and in every body's Mouth. You now, my Lords, conceive what I incline, or rather what I don't incline to say. If such a thing was done, it is certain it was not done by *Cælius*. For what

End of his could it serve? It has therefore been done perhaps, by some young Fellow, who has more of the Rake than the Fool in him. But if it is all an Imposition, tho'
 5 it is indeed an immodest, yet it is a diverting Fiction, yet it never could have met with any Countenance from the Opinion or Talk of the World, were it not that there is no Species of infamous Scandal, which does
 10 not appear to be suitable to her Character.

My Lords, I have now gone through and finished my Defence. You now understand the Importance of this Trial, and the Affair
 15 under your Consideration. You now proceed upon the Law relating to Violence; a Law that regards our Empire, our Majesty, our Country's Welfare, and the common Safety; a Law carried through by *Quintus*
 20 *Catulus*, during an armed Diffension among our Citizens, when the Liberty of this Republic seemed on the point of expiring, and a Law, which after the Combustion raised in my Consulate, was quieted, extinguished
 25 the smoking Remains of treasonable Conspiracy. Upon this Law the Youth of *Cælius* is demanded to fall a Sacrifice, not to the Justice of his Country, but to the Lusts and Lewdness of a Woman.

AND

AND even from this Place the Condemnation of *Marcus Camurtus* and *Cesernus*, are brought as Precedents. What monstrous Folly, or rather Impudence, is this? Dare you venture, in parting from the Company 5 of that Woman, to mention the Names of these Men? Dare you revive the Remembrance of such an infamous Crime, a Remembrance that Time has not extinguished, but impaired? For upon what Charge, and 10 for what Guilt were they condemned? Why, for being the Instruments of this Woman's Resentment, by making an infamous Assault upon the Body of *Vettius*. Therefore that the Name of *Vettius* might be heard in 15 this Cause, that an old idle Story might be furbished up a-new, the Case of *Camurtus* and *Cesernus* is revived, who tho' they were in reality not guilty upon the Law against Violence, yet were so involved in 20 that Crime, that it appeared it was impossible to extricate or disentangle them from the Snares of the Law.

BUT why is *Marcus Cælius* brought here 25 upon his Trial? He to whose Charge no Crime is laid, that can properly come within the Description of this Law; nor any Crime of any other kind, which, tho' without the

Meaning of the Law, is within the Reach of your Power. In his Dawn of Life he applied to that Learning and these Arts, by which we are trained to the Practice of the
 5 Forum, to the Service of our Country, to the Attainment of Honour, Glory and Dignity. He enjoyed the Friendship of those who were more advanced in Years than himself, whose Application and Modesty he de-
 10 signed as the chief Patterns of his Conduct; and in his Intimacy with his Equals, he seemed to pursue Praise, in the Paths which had been trod by the best and the greatest of Men.

15 WHEN Years had added a little more Strength to his Person, he went to *Africa*, where he served under the immediate Inspection of the Proconsul *Quintus Pompeius*, a
 20 Person of the severest Integrity, and the strictest Observer of every Duty in Life. In this Province, where his Father had some Effects and Estates, he acquired that *provin-*
 25 *cial* Experience which our Ancestors thought proper for all young Gentlemen of his Age. He left it highly approved of by *Pompey*, as you may learn from himself. He was ambitious from old Precedents, after the Example of those young Men, who have afterwards
 appeared

appeared our greatest Heroes, and our most eminent Citizens, that he might signalize his Parts before the People of *Rome*, by the Impeachment of some illustrious Offender.

I could have wished that his Passion for Glory had led him into some other Course; but these Complaints are now over; he impeached my unfortunate Colleague, *C. Antonius*, to whom an eminent Service to his Country was unavailing; but the Notion of intended Treason proved prejudicial. He afterwards yielded to none of his Equals, either as to the Multiplicity of his Affairs in the Forum, of Business and Causes which he managed for his Friends, or in the Affections and Esteem of his Relations. Advantages, which, as they can be attained only by the Vigilant, the Sober, and the Industrious, so he gained them all by Labour and Diligence.

IN this, what we may call the *Turn* of Life, for I will conceal nothing, as I have the greatest Dependence upon your Good-nature and Wisdom, the Career of his youthful Glory met with a small Rub, from his late Acquaintance with a Lady, unhappily his Neighbour, and himself unpractised in Plea-

Pleasures, which when a little too long confined, checked, or curbed in the Beginning of Life, sometimes all of a sudden pour themselves out, and break forth with all
 5 their Force. From this Life, or let me rather say from this Scandal, (for there was a great deal of more Talk about it than it deserved) or from whatever it might be, he emerged, he wholly raised himself above
 10 it; and so far is he now from deserving the Infamy of her Familiarity, that he buffets the Stream of her Spite and Malice.

AND that he might quite wipe away every
 15 Imputation of Effeminacy and Sloth, he did a thing much against my Inclination and my Endeavours to prevent it, yet he did it; he impeached a Friend of mine of Corruption. After he was acquitted he renewed the
 20 Charge; he minded none of us: He is more hot than I could wish him to be. But I don't speak with regard to his Wisdom, which is seldom possessed by one of his Years; I speak of the Impetuosity of his
 25 Spirit, his Eagerness to get the better, and the Passion of his Soul for Glory; all which, with Men of our Years, ought to be more confined; but in Youth, as in Vegetation, they prognosticate what a Ripeness of Vir-
 tue,

tue, and what a plentiful Harvest is to spring from their Industry. And indeed young Men of great Genius have need rather of a Curb than a Spur to Glory at that Age, if it is fed by Applause, for their eminent Parts a great deal more is to be lopped than ingrafted. 5 Therefore if *Cælius* appears too fiery, too fierce, too head-strong, either in creating or prosecuting his Animosities; if the most Inconsiderable here are in the least disgusted 10 by the Splendor of his Habit, the Numbers of his Friends, the Richness of his Equipage, and the Delicacy of his Person, let me tell them, that all these will soon subside, Age and a certain Period of Life will soon correct 15 them.

PRESERVE therefore, my Lords, to the Service of his Country, a Citizen whose Accomplishments are virtuous, whose Principles are virtuous, and whose Friendships are virtuous. 20 This will I promise to you; and for this do I answer to my Country, provided I myself can give Satisfaction to the State, that his Conduct shall be never different 25 from mine. This I promise both on account of the Dependance I have on his Friendship, and because he has laid himself under the severest Obligations to fulfil it.

FOR

FOR it is impossible that he who has impeached a Man of Consular Dignity upon a Violation of the Laws of his Country, should be a turbulent Subject of the State.

- 5 It is impossible that he, who would not suffer the same Person to go free after he was acquitted, should ever himself with Impunity employ the Arts of Corruption. The Commonwealth, my Lords, has of *Marcus Cæ-*
 10 *lius* two Impeachments, as Hostages that he will never endanger her, and as Pledges that he will always serve her. Therefore, I beg and conjure you, my Lords, that in the City in which within these few Days *Sextus Clo-*
 15 *dus* was acquitted, whom for two Years ye have seen either the Tool or the Leader of Sedition, who with his own Hand burnt down a consecrated Temple, the Register of *Rome*, and the Archives of her Government,
 20 a Man destitute, dishonourable, desperate, inconstant and inconsiderable; whose Mouth, whose Tongue, whose Hand has been polluted thro' all his Life; who destroyed the Monument of *Catulus*, demolished my
 25 House, burnt that of my Brother; who in the Palatium and in the View of all *Rome*, raised the Slaves to massacre our Citizens, and burn the City. Do not in the same City suffer him to be acquitted thro' the Interest,

terest, and *Marcus Cælius* to be sacrificed to the Lusts of a Woman, lest it should appear that the same Woman and her *Husband-Brother* have had the Interest to deliver a scandalous Ruffian, and to ruin a most excellent young Man. 5

AND while you view his Youth, do you place before your Eyes the stooping Age of this wretched old Man, propt by this his 10 only Son, hoping nothing but for him, fearing nothing but on his Account. Support him, if ever ye knew the Duties of a Son, if ever ye felt the Earnings of a Parent now imploring your Mercy, submitting to 15 your Power, and here prostrate not to sooth your Pride, but to touch your Compassion. Let the Sorrows which both feel awaken within you every Sentiment of filial Piety, and every Pang of paternal Love. Let not, 20 my Lords, your Severity, sooner than his own Destiny, destroy the one, who by the Course of Nature is now dropping into Dissolution; nor let it like a nipping Wind, or sudden Blast, blight the other just blooming. 25

PRESERVE the Son to the Parent; the Parent to the Son; thus shall ye not appear to have despised an old Age now almost
hopeless

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hopeless and helpless, and to have refused to cherish, nay, to have nipped and blasted a Youth of the most promising Hopes, whom if you preserve to yourselves, to his Friends, 5 to his Country, you preserve a Man devoted, dedicated, attached to you and your Children; and you, my Lords, you shall chiefly reap the mature and lasting Fruits of all his Toils and all his Labours.



THE



THE A R G U M E N T.

OUR Author has in the following Oration so copiously treated the Subject upon which it was pronounced, that there is very little either Occasion or Room for an Argument. It may be sufficient to inform the Reader, that he will find Cicero in this Oration talking in a very different Strain from what he does in some of the preceding. Cæsar was now dead, and Cicero commenced a firm intrepid Patriot. As such he opposed Antony, whom he thought the most dangerous and likely Man to pursue and finish Cæsar's Designs. Accordingly the Intention of this Oration, which was pronounced in the Senate, was to put the Senate upon its Guard against Antony, who was jealous that our Author's Interest might very much influence the Senate against him.

This Oration was pronounced in the Year of Rome 709, and of our Author's Age 63.

M.



M. T.

C I C E R O's

FIRST

O R A T I O N

AGAINST

M. A N T O N Y.



BEFORE I touch, Fathers
Conscript, upon these public
Concerns, which I now intend
to submit to your Considera-
tion, I shall in a few Words
5 lay before you my Intention, both in my
Departure and my Return.

WHEN I had some Grounds to hope that
10 the Government was at last reverted to your
Order and Authority, I determined to remain
on

on a kind of a Consular and Senatorial Watch;
 nor did I ever once go off my Post; nor did
 I ever once call off my Eyes from the Con-
 cerns of my Country, from the Day on
 which we met in the Temple of *Tellus*,
 where I did all I could to lay the Founda-
 tions of Peace, and for that Purpose I re-
 vived an ancient Usage of the *Athenians*. I
 likewise adopted a *Greek* Form, formerly
 used by that People in composing the Com-
 motions of their City; and I delivered my
 Sentiments for burying all Remembrance of
 Civil Discord in perpetual Oblivion.

SPECIOUS on that Occasion was the Lan-
 guage of *Mark Antony*; strong was his pub-
 lic Spirit; and a Reconciliation with our most
 worthy Citizens was confirmed by him and
 his Children. Every thing that then followed
 was agreeable to this Beginning. He sum-
 moned the principal Members of the State
 to assist at the Consultations which he held
 in his House upon the public Emergencies.
 Before this Assembly he laid every Matter of
 Importance; nor at that Time was there
 any thing discovered in *Cæsar's* Journals,
 but what every body knew of, and he an-
 swered every Question put to him with the
 greatest Gravity and Consistency.

HAVE any Exiles been restored? One, answered he, and but *one*. Have any Immunities been granted? *None*, said he. He even wanted that we should agree to the
 5 Motion made by the illustrious *Servius Sulpitius*, that no Bill, containing either a Decree or a Grant of *Caius Cæsar*, should be posted up after the Ides of *March*. I pass over many other illustrious Actions; for I
 10 now hurry on to mention an unparallel'd Action of *Mark Antony's*. He utterly abolished out of the Constitution the *Dictatorship*, which had for some time possessed itself of Regal Power. Upon this Point we did
 15 not so much as declare our Sentiments. He produced an Act of the Senate ready drawn up in the manner in which he wanted it should pass; which being read, we zealously and implicitly complied with his Motion,
 20 and by another Act we returned him Thanks in the most magnificent Terms. A certain Beam of Light now seemed to spring by the Abolition not of Royalty only, to which we had actually been subjected, but by deli-
 25 vering us from the Dread of its ever being restored. Great was the Proof which he gave to his Country, of his being willing that she should retain her Liberty, since he utterly eradicated out of the State the very
 Office

Office of Dictator, tho' it had been often legal; so great was his Abhorrence of the late perpetual Dictatorship.

THE Senate a few Days after seemed to 5
be free from every Apprehension of Blood-
shed. The Fugitive Impostor, who had pre-
tended a Relation with *Caius Marius*, was
dragged to summary Punishment. These
Transactions were carried on in common 10
with his Colleague; others properly belong
to *Dolabella*; but had *Antony* been present,
I am persuaded they would have been in
common to both. For when an universal
Contagion had insinuated itself into the City, 15
and was daily extending its infectious Influ-
ence, and the very Men who had per-
formed a *Funeral* without an *Interment*, were
erecting a Monument in the *Forum*; and
desperate Citizens, with Slaves of the same 20
Dispositions, threatned every Day louder and
louder the Destructions of the Buildings and
Temples of this City; yet so strict was
the Eye that *Dolabella* kept, both on the
profligate Insolence of the Slaves, and the 25
unnatural Pollution of the Citizens; and such
the Resolution he discovered on demolishing
the execrable Pillar they had erected, that to
me it is surprizing a subsequent Conduct

should be so little of a Piece with the Transaction of that single Day.

FOR behold, by the first of *June*, the Day
 5 on which he summoned us to meet, every
 thing was altered. Nothing done by the
 Senate; a great deal, and that of great Con-
 sequence, by himself, in the Absence and
 against the Inclinations of the People. The
 10 Consuls elect declared, That they durst not
 venture to come into the Senate; the Deli-
 verers of their Country were banished from
 the City, whose Neck they had freed from a
 servile Yoke; yet were they praised by the
 15 Consuls themselves in all their Assemblies,
 and in their private Conversation. The *Ve-*
terans, as they are called, whom this Body
 had so well provided for, were spirited up,
 not to guard their present Possessions, but to
 20 hope for future Plunder. As I chose rather
 to be an Ear, than an Eye-Witness of such
 Events, and had obtained the Privilege of an
 unlimited Deputation, I departed with a
 Resolution to assist in the Senate on the
 25 Calends of *January*, which in all probability
 was to be the first Day of our next Sessions.

HAVING thus, Fathers Conscript, laid
 before you the Reasons of my Departure,
 give

give me leave, in a very few Words, to acquaint you with the Motive of my Return, which has in it somewhat still more surprising. After, not without Reasons of my own, I had avoided going to *Brundisium*, 5 and quite struck off from the high Road to *Greece*; about the 1st of *August* I landed at *Syracuse*, because I had heard the Passage from thence into *Greece* mentioned as the best. Yet that City, tho' I have a very great 10 Friendship for her, with all her Intreaties, could not prevail with me to stay above a Night. I was afraid that so sudden a Visit to my Friends, if I should tarry with them any time, might give some Umbrage. But 15 when I was driven by Stress of Weather from *Sicily* to *Leucopetra*, a Promontary in the Territory of *Rbegium*, I set Sail from that Place, with a Design to go over; but I had made but very little way, when a 20 Southernly Wind drove me back to the same Port.

As it was late at Night, I lodged at the House of *Publius Valerius*, my Companion 25 and Friend, and passed all next Day likewise with him, waiting for a Wind. A great many of the Corporation of *Rbegium*, and some of them come lately from *Rome*, came

to see me, From these I first got a Copy of
Antony's Speech, which gave me so much
 Pleasure in reading, that I began to have
 some Thoughts of returning. Soon after
 5 the Edict of *Brutus* and *Cassius* was brought
 me, which, perhaps because I love them
 more on a public than a private Account,
 I thought was highly equitable. They like-
 wise told me (for it often happens that they
 10 who want to bring any good News, make
 some Additions of their own to render it still
 more agreeable) that Matters were to be
 made up, that there was to be a full Session
 of the Senate by the 1st of *August*. That
 15 *Antony* having discharged his wicked Advisers,
 and dropt his Pretensions to the Provinces
 of *Gaul*, would return to his Allegiance to
 the Senate.

20 So sanguine were my Hopes upon this,
 that neither Sails nor Winds were sufficient
 to answer my Impatience; not that I thought
 I could be here in time, but I wished not to
 be among the last to congratulate my Coun-
 25 try. In a short time I arrived at *Velia*, where
 I saw *Brutus*; with what Anguish I saw
 him I will not say. Ill, I thought, did it be-
 come me to dare to return to that City from
 which *Brutus* was retiring, or to seek my
 Safety

Safety where *Brutus* could not find his. But in a far different manner was he affected from me; for supported by the Consciousness of the great, the admirable Action he had performed, much did he complain about our 5 Misfortunes; nothing about his own.

FROM him I first knew the Nature of the Speech, delivered on the 1st of *August* to the Senate by *Piso*, who, he told me, was 10 but ill seconded by those who ought to have acted otherwise. Yet as the same *Brutus* owned, and could any thing be of greater Weight? And as every body afterwards 15 saw, declared to me, it appeared that he had acquired great Glory. I therefore made Dispatch, that I might second him, who was unseconded by those who were in the Assembly; not that I could be of any Advantage to him, (for that I did not 20 expect to be, nor indeed could I contribute to it) but that if I should happen to share in the Lot to which Humanity is subjected, (for a great many Things out of the ordinary Course of Fate and Providence seemed 25 to threaten) that I might at least bequeath to my Country my Speech on this Occasion, as an eternal Evidence of the Affection I owe her: As, *Fathers Conscript*, I hope you approve

of my Conduct in both Steps, before I enter upon the Affairs of the Public, give me leave to enter a short Complaint upon Yesterday's injurious Behaviour of *Mark Antony*,
 5 to whom I am well disposed, as I always professed myself to be, on account of some Obligations I lie under to him.

BUT what then could be the Cause, why
 10 Yesterday I was so rudely pressed to assist in the Senate? Was I the only one who was absent? Are ye not often a much thinner House? Was your Business of such Consequence, that there was a Necessity of carry-
 15 ing thither even the Sick? *Hannibal* sure was at the Gates; or ye were on a Debate about a Treaty with *Pyrrhus*; a Debate to which, we are told, the great *Appius*, old and blind as he was, was carried: You had Supplica-
 20 tions under your Consideration; and in Debates of this kind there are generally abundance of Senators present, not from any View of saving their Forfeitures, but of gratifying the Party whose Honours are
 25 under Debate; the same thing likewise happens when a Triumph is the Question. So unconcerned are the Consuls in a Point like this, that a Senator is almost at Liberty to be absent. As I was no Stranger to this Form,

a good deal fatigued, and uneasy in my own Thoughts, as a Friend, I sent a Person to him to make my Excuse. But in your Hearing he declared that he would come in Person to my House, with Workmen. This 5 indeed, was too passionate, and by far too indecent a Declaration: For what Crime could incur such a Punishment, as could warrant him to declare in this Assembly, that he would employ the Workmen of the Public 10 to demolish a House erected at the public Expence by a Decree of the Senate? Whoever before laid a Senator under so expensive a Compulsion? Or is there any Penalty known beyond that of a Forfeit or a Fine? But had 15 he known what I had to say, he surely would have relented somewhat of that compulsive Severity.

Do you imagine, Fathers Conscript, tho' 20 you were forced into Compliance, that I should have given my Vote for decreeing that parental Obsequies should be mixt with public Thanksgivings: That inexpiable religious Rites should be introduced into the 25 Government: That Supplications should be directed to a dead — I will not say who. Had he been a *Lucius Brutus*, who with his own Hand had freed his Country from regal Slavery,

Slavery, and thro' a Succession of almost five hundred Years, had transmitted a Representative capable of being fired with the same noble Sentiments, and performing a like glorious Exploit, never should I be brought to consent that the Dead should be joined in the Veneration due to the immortal Gods, and that the Man who no where has a Monument for the Parental Obsequies, should be
 5 honoured with the Rites of public Supplication. This Opinion, Fathers Conscript, I should have delivered, that I might be able easily to vindicate myself to the *Roman* People, in case of any heavy Blow, thro' War,
 15 thro' Pestilence, or Famine; Part of these we already feel, and more I am afraid now threatens us. But the Immortal Gods, I hope, will pardon the People of *Rome*, who do not approve of it, and the Senate, who
 20 were compelled to decree it.

WHAT! Are we debarred from speaking to the other Grievances of the Republic? No. I will, I will ever assert my Dignity,
 25 and despise Death. Let me but have Access to this Assembly, and then be mine all the Dangers attending the Freedom of my Language. Much do I wish, Fathers Conscript, that I could have been present on the 1st of
August;

August; not that my Presence could have aught avail'd, but that the Consular, who was worthy of that Honour and of this Republic, might not have stood unseconed as he then did. Therefore, great is my Sorrow, 5 that the Men who have enjoyed the highest Honours of their Country, did not support *Lucius Piso*, who moved for so excellent a Resolution. Did the People of *Rome* distinguish us with Consular Dignity, that when 10 placed on the highest and most conspicuous Step of Honour, we should set at naught her Constitution? No Consular expressed, nay, durst not look, an Approbation of what *Lucius Piso* proposed. 15

A CURSE on the Slaves that are so thro' Choice; it is too much that we have been so thro' Necessity. I don't insist on all those who are on the Consular Benches delivering 20 their Opinion. The Case of those, whose Silence I pardon, is different from theirs whose Opinion I demand. I am indeed sorry for those whom the *Roman* People suspect to fall below their own Dignity, not thro' Fear 25 only, tho' that would be shameful, but severally for several Causes.

THEREFORE, in the first place, I return
my

my most sincere Thanks to *Lucius Piso*,
 who did not reflect on what he *could*, but on
 what he *ought* to do for the Service of his
 Country: In the next place, Fathers Con-
 5 script, I beg of you, that if you dare not
 venture to second my Speech and my Exam-
 ple, you may at least, as ye have hitherto
 done, afford me a favourable Hearing. First
 then I give it as my Opinion, that the Acts
 10 of *Cæsar* should be kept, not that I approve
 of them; for who indeed can? But because
 I think we ought to have the highest Regard
 to Peace and Tranquillity, I wish that *An-*
tony were here, but without his Council.
 51 He, I think, has a Privilege to be indisposed,
 tho' Yesterday I could not be so far indulged.
 He would instruct me, or rather, *Fathers*
Conscript, You, in what manner he defends
 the Acts of *Cæsar*. Shall the Acts of *Cæsar*
 20 contained in his Memorandums, in his Notes
 and Pocket-books produced by *Antony*, nay,
 not produced, but only said to be extant, be
 valid? And shall those he engraved on Brass,
 by which he consented that the Commands of
 the People shall be perpetual Laws, be held
 25 as naught?

My Opinion indeed is, that nothing is so
 much the Act of *Cæsar* as his Laws. If
 every

every Promise he made is to be ratified, must every thing that he promised to any one, be ratified, tho' he could not perform it, as in fact he made many Promises to many Men, which he did not perform? 5 Might it not sometimes have happened that he has made a great Number of the same Promises to a Number of People? Yet since his Death a much greater Number of his Promises have been found out, than ever he 10 granted Gratuities or Bounties in his Life. But these are what I am neither for changing nor altering; nay, with the greatest Zeal do I stand by his noble Acts. I wish the Money were still in the Temple of Ops. 20 It was indeed stained with Blood; yet since it is not returned to the rightful Proprietors, it might be serviceable to us at this Juncture. Yet let even that be dissipated, if the Acts of *Cæsar* will have it so. Is 15 there any one thing that may so properly be called the Acts of a Man, who in peaceful Robes possessed Power and Command in the Government, as a *Law* which he passed? If one asks for the Acts of *Gracchus*, the *Sem-* 25 *pronian* Laws are instantly produced. If of *Sylla*, the *Cornelian*. Nay more: In what Acts did *Pompey's* third Consulate consist? Why, in his Laws. Had you asked of *Cæsar* himself

himself what he had acted within the City in a civil Capacity, he would have answered, That he had passed many excellent Laws. But as to his Notes, he would either have
 5 altered them, or not have given them; or if he had given them, he would not have accounted them his Acts. But even that I give up; some Points I likewise wink at; but in the most important ones, which I
 10 conceive to be *the Laws*, I apprehend that we ought never to suffer an Abolition of *Cæsar's Acts*.

Was ever a Law of greater Importance,
 15 or greater Utility, or more wished-for when the Constitution was in its Purity, than that, by which it was enacted that the *Prætorian* Provinces should not be held but for a Year, and the Consular for two. If this Law
 20 shall be abolished, can you imagine that *Cæsar's Acts* are inviolated. How! Are not they disannulling all *Cæsar's* judicial Laws, by that Law which is now depending in relation to a third Decury of Judges? And
 25 can it be said that you preserve his Acts, while you abolish his Laws? Unless you look upon every thing, which by way of Memorandum he set down in a Pocket-book as his Act, and to be inviolably pre-
 served,

served, however unjust and useless it may be,
 and that which he enacted in the most regular and full Assemblies of the People, to be
 no Act of *Cæsar's*? But of whom is this
 third Order of Judges composed? *Of Centu-* 5
rions, says he. But how! By the *Julian*,
 before that, by the *Pompeian*, by the *Aure-*
lian Laws. Was this Order precluded from
 acting in a judicial Capacity? *But the Qua-*
lification Clause, says he, *was limited*. Yes; 10
 but this affected not only the Military Offi-
 cers, but even a *Roman Knight*. And for
 that very Reason it was, that the bravest and
 the worthiest Men who are at the Heads of
 Corps, do now sit, and have long sat upon 15
 the Bench. *I don't mean these*, says he, *but*
let every Man who has been at the Head of a
Corps, have a Power to judge. But if ye
 did make a Motion, that whoever had serv'd
 on Horseback, which is the more reputable 20
 Service, might sit on the Bench, ye could
 gain no one to your Opinion; for in a Judge,
 Regard ought to be had to his Fortune and
 Figure. These, says he, I don't mind; I
 even add to their Number Subaltern Officers 25
 from the Legion, composed wholly of Gallic
 Veterans, otherwise my Party thinks there
 can be no Safety for them. Disgraceful
 Honour to those whom you unknowingly
 raise

raise to the Bench of Justice; for the Title of his Law is, that those Gentlemen should be made Judges in the third Decury, tho' at the same time they are not at Liberty to
 5 judge freely. Immortal Gods! What a Mistake was this in those who hatched that Law, for in proportion as each shall appear a dirty Tool, so the more earnestly will he endeavour to wash out his Stains by judging
 10 with Severity, that he may seem to be worthy of being a Member in the creditable, rather than to be thrown rightfully into the disgraceful Decuries.

15 ANOTHER Law is promulged, by which they who are convicted either of riotous or treasonable Practices may, if they please, bring an Appeal to the People. But whether is this a Law; or is it not rather an Abro-
 20 gation of all Laws? For is there a Man now whose Interest the passing of this Law can serve? No-body is prosecuted upon these Laws; and we have reason to believe, that none ever will, for surely Men will never be
 25 brought to a Trial for what they have done in Arms. But we are told this is a popular Affair. I wish he would suffer something to be popular; for all the Citizens of Rome have but one Voice and one Mind with regard to the
 Safety

Safety of their Country. Whence then does all this Eagerness proceed in passing a Law, which in every Degree is scandalous, and in none popular? For what can be more scandalous, than that when a Man shall encroach by Force on the Majesty of the Roman People, and be lawfully condemned for his Offence, he should have a Power to have recourse to that Violence, of which he had before been lawfully convicted? 5 10

BUT why do I talk more of the Law, as if this was the Question, Whether *any body would appeal*. The Design and Import of the whole is, that no Man ever shall be prosecuted upon these Laws. What a stupid Accuser must he be, who would expose himself to a mercenary Mob, after a Criminal is convicted? Or what Judge would venture to give Judgment for the prosecuted Person, that he himself the next Minute might be dragged before Mechanics whom the Impeached kept in Pay? No Appeal, therefore, is established by that Law. But two Laws and Proceedings of the most salutary Nature are abolished. For what else is it than an Exhortation to young Fellows to become turbulent, seditious, and pernicious Citizens? For to what destructive Extremities may not 15 20 25

Tribunitial Madneſs be pushed, if the two Forms of proceeding upon the Charges of Force and Treason shall be abolished.

5 WHAT! Shall we invalidate the Laws of *Cæſar*, which order that one convicted of riotous or treasonable Practices, should be cut off from the Benefit of Water and Fire? If ſuch an Appeal ſhould be allowed, are
10 not the Acts of *Cæſar* diſannulled? Yet, Fathers Conſcript, I, who never approved of his Acts, am of Opinion, that for the ſake of Unanimity we ought to preſerve them, ſo that I thought it unſeaſonable to invalidate
15 the Author not only of thoſe Laws which *Cæſar* enacted in his Life-time, but even of thoſe which you perceived to be expoſed, and ſtuck up after his Death.

20 By the *Dead* are the Banished recalled. By the *Dead* are the Privileges of *Rome* beſtowed, not on private Perſons only, but upon Nations and whole Provinces. By the *Dead* Numbers of Corporations have their Tribute
25 remitted. We therefore confirm whatever upon a ſingle, but an unqueſtionable Evidence, has been produced from his Houſe; and ſhall we think of ratifying the Acts of *Cæſar*, yet abolish his Laws, thoſe Laws
which

which he himself, in our Sight, repeated,
pronounced, enacted; Laws which he valued
himself upon passing; Laws in which he
thought the System of our Government was
comprehended; Laws which affect our Pro- 5
vinces and our Trials? Are we, I say, to
repeal such Laws, yet ratify his Acts? Yet
may we at least complain of those Laws
which are only proposed; as to those which
we pass we are deprived even of the Liberty to 10
complain. For these, without any previous Pro-
position, were passed before they were drawn
up. They ask, why I, or, *Fathers Conscrip*,
any of your Body should be afraid of bad
Laws, while we have virtuous Tribunes of 15
the People? We have, say they, those who
will interpose, those who by Oath are ready
to protect the Constitution, therefore ought
we to be quite void of Fear. But what
do you talk to me, says he, of Interpo- 20
sitions, or Rites? Why! those upon which the
very Safety of our Constitution depends,
those we have neglected, as thinking them
too stale and too stupid. The Forum shall
be surrounded, all its Passages shut up; Sol- 25
diers shall be posted in Numbers of Places
as Guards. What then! Whatever is car-
ried on in that manner shall be Law, and
you shall see it engraved on Brass. Supposing

the following legal Form of Words to be inserted, "The Consuls in form require the Concurrence of the People;" for such was the Right of requiring such Concurrence, and
 5 "The People in form consented." What People? The People who are excluded. By what Form? By that which is totally abolished by Force of Arms. This I speak, because it may possibly happen; because it
 10 is the Duty of a Friend to foretell what may be shunned: If the Fact shall not happen, my Speech shall be of itself confuted. I speak of the Laws that are proposed, which it is now in your Breast to dispose of. I
 15 point out Faults; amend them. I speak of Force and Arms; remove them. *Dolabella*, you ought not to have been angry with me, while I speak in my Country's Cause; tho' I can scarce believe you will, for I know your
 20 Good-nature. They tell me that your Colleague in this, which he thinks his good Fortune, tho', to say no worse, to me would he appear more fortunate, was he to imitate the Consulate of his Ancestors and his Uncle; but
 25 they tell me that he is angry. Well do I know how undesirable it is that a Man should at once be in Arms and in a Passion, especially as the Sword now can act without controul. But I advance, as I think, Law and Equity too.
 To

To these, I imagine, *Antony* will not bid adieu. If I should hereafter contemptuously inveigh against his Life or Morals, so as to render him still less my Friend, I am prepared. But never shall I quit the manner which I 5 have ever observed in public Affairs, which was to deliver my Sentiments with Freedom. I beg, in the first place, that he may not be angry; then if I can't obtain that, let him shew such Resentment only as becomes one 10 *Roman* Citizen to another. Let him use Arms if they are absolutely necessary, as he says, for defending his Person. But never let these Arms injure those who speak what they think relates to the Interest of their 15 Country. What can be more just than this Request?

BUT if, as I am told by some of his Friends, he falls in a Passion at every Speech, 20 even tho' it is no ways abusive, if it opposes his Pleasure, let us bear with a Friend's Humour. But I am told by the same Persons, you, you who are a Foe to *Cæsar*, are not to take the same Liberties as *Piso*, his 25 Father-in-Law. At the same time they dropt a Word or two, as if I ought to be upon my Guard; nor, Fathers Conscript, is

Sickness a more sufficient Excuse than Death,
for not attending this House.

BUT by the Immortal Gods, while I be-
5 hold you, *Dolabella*, whom I love with my
Soul, I cannot refrain my Tongue from
mentioning the Failures of you both; for I
believe you to be honourable Men whose
Views are elevated, whose Ambition, as
10 some too credulously suspect, is not for Mo-
ney, which the Greatest and the most Eminent
always despise, nor for a formidable Interest,
nor a Power intollerable to *Romans*, but
Popularity and Glory; but true Glory con-
15 sists in Approbation, for virtuous Actions
and signal Services performed for your Coun-
try, in which the Voice of the Public, as
well as of every worthy Man, concurs.

20 *Dolabella*, I would point out the Fruits of
virtuous Actions, did I not perceive that you
are distinguished by having just tasted them.
Can you recollect, upon a Review of your
whole Life, that any Day gave you a greater
25 Pleasure than that, on which the Forum
being expiated; the Assembly of the Wicked
dispersed; the Leaders of Iniquity punished;
the City delivered from her Apprehensions of
Flames and Massacres; you retired to your
own

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own House? What Rank, what Degree, what Station did not then mingle their Zeal in the full measure of thy Applause and Congratulation? I too received the Thanks of the Wor- thy, I received their Compliments on your Suc- 5 cess, because they thought that by my Counsels these Actions were performed. Call to Mind, *Dolabella*, I conjure you, that Applause of the Theatre, when your Country forgetting and forgiving all you had done to dis- 10 oblige her, declared that your late Services had cancelled all her Resentment of your past Conduct? Can you tamely and patiently stoop from such a Height of Glory?

As for you, *Mark Antony*, I speak to you 15 tho' absent; do you not prefer that single Day, when the Senate met in the Temple of *Tellus*, to all those Months, during which, those who think different from me, imagine 20 you happy? How you then talked about Unanimity! From what Apprehensions did you deliver the Veterans? From what Anxiety the City? Laying aside Resentment, forgetful of the Auspices, yourself declaring them 25 as *Augur*, you on that Day first admitted your Colleague to be your Colleague. Your little Son, by yourself delivered into the Capitol, was the Pledge of Peace.

WAS ever Day more agreeable to the
 Senate; more agreeable to the People of
Rome? Or was ever any Assembly more
 full and frequent than that? Then did we
 5 behold ourselves delivered by the bravest of
 Men, because, as they intended, Peace had
 followed that Liberty. The next, the fol-
 lowing, the third, and some subsequent Days
 never did you fail to present some endearing
 10 Token of Love to your Country: But your
 Chief was the Abolition of the Dictatorship.
 This was branded by you, by you, Sir, as a
 Mark of eternal Infamy to the *Dead Cæsar*,
 in the same manner, as for the Treason of a
 15 single Person of the Name of *Marcus Man-*
lius, by a Resolution of the *Manlian Race*,
 no *Patrician* was afterwards permitted to
 assume that Name. Thus so strongly did
 you detest one Dictator, as utterly to abolish
 20 the very Office. And after all this Patriot-
 Conduct, was you dissatisfied with such
 Fortune, such Dignity, such Renown, and
 such Glory? Whence then this sudden
 Change! Sure I cannot suspect that you are
 25 under pecuniary Influence; let every Man
 speak as he pleases, tho' there is no Necessity
 to believe him; but never did I know you
 guilty of ought that was mean or dirty.
 True! Domestic sometimes use to corrupt
 their

their Masters; but your Integrity I know;
and I wish you could be as free of Suspicion
as you are of Guilt.

MORE am I afraid of this, that mistaking 5
the true Path to Glory, you think it glorious
that you alone are able to effect more than
all besides, and chuse rather to be feared, than
beloved by your Country. If thus you
think, absolutely do you mistake the Road 10
to Glory. It is glorious to endear yourself as
a Citizen; to perform noble Services to your
Country; to be the Object of her Praise,
her Veneration, and her Love: But odious,
detestable, weak and momentary it is to be 15
the Object of her Fear and Hatred. Even
in the Play we find that the Maxim, *Let*
them hate while they fear, was destructive to
the very Man who said so. I wish, *Antony*,
you had called to Mind your Grandfather, 20
whom you have heard me so frequently men-
tion: Dost thou think that he would have
purchased Immortality itself at the Expence
of being the dreaded Master of licentious
Power? This was his Life, this his Prospe- 25
rity, in *Liberty* to be *equal*, in *Dignity* to be
superior to others. Therefore, to pass over
the prosperous Part of your Grandfather's
Life, rather would I chuse to be him in all
the

Agony of his latter End, than to be *Cinna* the Tyrant, who cruelly put him to Death in all the Insolence of his Power. But why think I to make an Impression on you by

5 Words? If the Fate of *Cæsar* cannot persuade you to wish rather to be loved than feared, nothing can my, or any Man's Word avail or affect. They who imagine that *Cæsar* was happy, are themselves miserable.

10 No Man is happy who holds his Life on such Terms, as that whoever kills him shall meet not with Impunity only, but immortal Honour.

15 **RELENT** therefore, I entreat thee; cast thine Eyes upon thy Ancestors, and so rule the State, as that thy Countrymen may bless the Day which gave thee Birth. Without this no Man can possess either Happiness or

20 Renown. Many are the Instances which you both have had of the Public Judgment; and it gives me great Concern that they have been so ineffectual; what else could those Shouts mean, which at the Shews of Gladiators, broke from innumerable Multitudes?

25 What the Crowding of the People? What the unbounded Applause poured out on the Statue of *Pompey*, and upon the two Tribunes who oppose you? Do these but faintly

express

express the incredibly unanimous Wishes of the whole *Roman* People? How! Did the Applause, let me rather call it the Evidence and the Judgment of the *Romans*, at the Plays of *Apollo*, appear trifling to you? 5
Happy they, who when armed Force prevented their being personally present, yet were present, and clung to the Heart and the Soul of every *Roman*! Unless you are to imagine that the Applause and the Palm was 10 bestowed sixty Years after his Death upon *Accius*, and not upon *Brutus*; who tho' absent indeed in Person from his own Shews, yet in that magnificent Entertainment, received the warmest Wishes of the *Roman* 15 People for his Prosperity; thus did they sooth their Grief for his Absence by Shouts of uninterrupted Applause.

I INDEED am one of those who have ever despised the Shouts bestowed on Citizens by 20 the Populace, but when they are bestowed by the highest, the middling, and the lowest Ranks; in short, by the whole Body of the People, especially when they who used meanly to court popular Favour, were obliged 25 to hide their Heads; this I cannot call *Applause*, but a just *Approbation*. But if these Circumstances, which are indeed of the highest Importance, appear to you but trifling, will ye despise the Proof which you had

had, how dear the Life of *A. Hirtius* was to the People of *Rome*? It was sufficient to him that he obtained the Approbation of the *Roman* People which he still retains;
 5 that to his Friends he was, more than any Man alive, agreeable; that to his Family he was dear, even to an Excess of Passion; but where, in our Memory, was ever the Concern of the Worthy, and the Apprehensions of
 10 the World, so much interested as in him? Surely never. How then, Immortal Gods, are ye at a Loss to interpret these Intimations, or to form a Judgment in what manner they, to whom the Life of the deserving
 15 Patriot is so dear, regard your Lives.

I HAVE now, Fathers Conscript, obtained the End I proposed by my Return, because I have now spoke what in all Events must
 20 be a Proof of my Constancy, and have been heard by you with Favour and Attention. This is an Indulgence, which, if I can without bringing myself and you into Danger, I will often use; otherwise I will, in the best
 25 manner I can, lie bye; not so much to serve myself as my Country. Enough almost have I lived either for Nature or Glory. If any Additions are made to either, not I, but you and the State shall reap the Advantage.

T H E



THE A R G U M E N T.

AFTER Cicero had delivered the last Oration against Antony, the latter went to his Villa, where he studied during seven Days for a proper Answer to Cicero. On the 13th of the Kalends of October he summoned together a Senate in our Author's Absence, who thought it unsafe to be present, by reason of a strong Party of Antony's Ruffians guarding all the Avenues, and lining the Senate-House under Arms; there he made a bitter, but a very stupid Invective against Cicero, if we may believe the latter.

This following Oration is wrote in answer to that Invective; but notwithstanding all the Painting and the Incidents it contains, as if Antony had been present when it was delivered, it is certain that the Oration itself never was delivered. It is perhaps the severest and the keenest Invective ever wrote, and conceived in such Terms, with so thorough a Contempt, with so strong a Detestation of Antony, that it is no wonder if the latter could never forgive it.

Our

ARGUMENT.

Our Author in the first place vindicates himself from several Objections made to his personal and moral Character by Antony: And as he proceeds in his Vindication, takes care to lay the Folly and the Villany of his Antagonist's Conduct very open. He treats him with less Ceremony than ever he did Clodius or Catiline, whom he admits to have had Parts; but Antony, according to him, joined the most blundering Understanding, and the most clumsy Wit to the worst Heart that ever Man possess. He lays open all his criminal Excesses of Debauchery, whether in Gaming, in Drinking, in Whoring, or Gluttony, with every other Species of Vice that can enter into the Composition of human Nature. He shews him to be a greater Tyrant in his public Character, than any that ever went before him; he holds him forth as guilty of Bribery, Corruption, Forgery, Murder, and Rapaciousness to support his ill-got Power, and to pay off his Debts; and thus he traces him from his early Youth to that very Day.

But the Reader is not to expect here that a Translator can have the room for the same Flow of Language and Turn of Periods, as in the other Oration, where the Subject is general; for all this Oration is personal, close, and invective. The Art of the Orator is disguised by the Vehemency with which he is supposed to speak, and the Style by no means of that

A R G U M E N T.

that florid exuberant kind which distinguishes the Orations of Cicero. There are likewise many proverbial Expressions and Allusions introduced thro' the whole, which tho' extremely beautiful to a Roman, lose their Effect with us.

This Oration being published was fatal to Cicero, as were the Philippics of Demosthenes to him. In what great Esteem the second Philippic of Cicero was with the Ancients, we learn from Juvenal's tenth Satyr; where speaking of these two great Men, his Words run thus:

Eloquio sed uterque periit Orator, utrumque
Largus et exundans Letho dedit, Ingenii Fons.
Ingenio Manus est, et Cervix cæsa, nec,
unquam
Sanguine Caufidici maduerunt Rostra Pusilli.
O Fortunatam Natam me Consule Roman,
Antonii Gladios Potuit Contemnere, si sic
Omnia Dixisset; Ridenda Poemata Malo
Quam te conspicuæ divina Philippica Famæ
Volveris a prima quæ proxima ———

The Coalition betwixt Antony and Octavius Cæsar, gave him up to the Sword of the former; and the implacable Malice of Fulvia, the Wife of Antony, was such, that she thrust out his Eyes with a Bodkin after his Death, upon the Murderer's presenting her with his Head.

M.



M. T.

C I C E R O ' S

SECOND

ORATION

AGAINST

M. A N T O N Y.



O what Fatality attending me,
Fathers Conscript, shall I as-
cribe it; that for these twen-
ty Years no Man has been the
Enemy of this State, who has not at the
same time declared War against me also?

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Needless

Needless is it for me to descend to Particulars, which you yourselves may remember. More severe was their Punishment than I could have wish'd. I am surpriz'd, *Antony*,
 5 that you dread not their Fates, as you tread in their Paths. Yet the Conduct of others gave me less Surprize; for none of them chose to be my Enemy, all of them were attack'd by me on account of the State. But
 10 you, unprovok'd even by Words, that you may appear more audacious than *Catiline*, more furious than *Clodius*, have by your Calumnies even attack'd me; and thought that your Enmity with me wou'd be your strong-
 15 est Recommendation to profligate Citizens.

WHAT can I think? That I am despis'd? I see nothing in my Life, in my Character, in my Actions, nor in my Capacity, slender
 20 as it now appears, which *Antony* can despise. Did he imagine that his Attempt to blacken me would be most successful, because made in the Senate? an Assembly which, tho' it has bestow'd on many eminent Citizens the
 25 Praise of successfully *serving* their Country, yet me alone has it distinguished with the
 Praise

Praise of *saving* it? Did he intend to dispute with me the Prize of Eloquence? This indeed is doing me a Favour. For can I have a fairer, a fuller Advantage, than both to plead for myself and against *Antony*? But 5 this, I have found it out, is his End: He thought, that to his Confederates, Men like himself, he could never bring full Evidence that he was the Enemy of his Country, unless he liv'd at Variance with me. Before I 10 answer other Points, I shall take the Liberty to touch in a few Words upon our Friendship, which he charges me with violating, a Charge which I take to be of the blackest Nature.

He complains that I appear'd, I don't 15 know when, against his Interest. Ought I not to appear against a Stranger in favour of my Friend and Relation? Ought I not to appear against the Power of an Interest gain'd not by the Semblance of Virtue, but the Pro- 21 stitution of youthful Bloom? Ought I not to appear against an Injury, by him committed thro' the Partiality of a scandalous Interposer, and not the Decision of the Prætor? But 25 this I suppose you have mentioned with this

View, that you may recommend yourself to the lowest Rank of the People; that you yourself are Son-in-law to a Man who had been a Slave, and that your Children are the Grandchildren of *Quintus Fadius*, who had been a Slave. But (you say) you had put yourself as a Pupil under my Care, (for that was your Expression) you had frequently resorted to my House. Surely, had you done that, your Reputation had been more fair, and your Body less polluted. But you neither did it, nor had you intended to do it, wou'd *Curio* have permitted it.

16 You said, that in my favour you dropt your Pretensions to the Augurship. Presumptuous impudent Man! At the Time when *Cneius Pompeius* and *Quintus Hortensius*, for only two could do it, nam'd me, at the Request of the whole College, an Augur, you was insolvent, and sensible that there was no Safety for you but in the Ruin of your Country. But could you stand for
25 the Augurship at a Time when *Curio* was not in *Italy*? Or even when you was made

an Augur, could you have carried one Tribe but by the Interest of *Curio*? And even his Friends were convicted of Violence for being over-zealous in your favour.

BUT I am under an Obligation to you. 6
 What Obligation? Yes! and that Obligation I was always ready to acknowledge. I chose rather to own myself obliged to you, than to appear to an unthinking Person ungrateful. 10
 But what was this Obligation? That you did not murder me at *Brundisium*? That is saying, you did not kill a Man, preserv'd and restor'd to *Italy* by Order of the Conqueror, who, as you yourself us'd to boast, had 15
 dignified you with a chief Command among his Robbers. But admitting you could have kill'd me: What, Fathers Conscript, is this other than the Boon of Robbers, whose Language it is that they save the Lives of those 20
 whom they do not murder? Had this been a Merit, they whom you us'd to name the most eminent of Mankind, and who kill'd the Man who preserv'd them, never could have acquir'd so much Glory. But what 25
 is the Merit of refraining your Hand from

the Commission of detestable Guilt? In which Case it was not near so agreeable to me that I was spar'd by you, as it was grievous that it was in your Power to
 5 have murder'd me with Impunity.

BUT admit it to be a Favour, since it is all the Favour one can receive from a Robber, yet in what respect can you term me
 10 ungrateful? Ought I not, for fear of appearing ungrateful to you, to bewail my expiring Country? But in what I then complain'd of (a Complaint woeful and wretched indeed, but indispensable with me in this Station,
 15 to which by the Senate and the People of *Rome* I am rais'd) did I throw out aught that was abusive? Did I utter an Expression but what was cool and friendly? Yet what a Self-denial was there in refraining from Abuse, when I was complaining against *Mark*
Antony, especially as you had dissipated the Remains of the State? When within your House every thing had been prostituted to an infamous Venality? When you had con-
 20 fess'd that Laws relating to you, and which
 25 never

never had been promulg'd, were by your means
 pass'd? When, as Augur, you had abolish'd
 the Auspices, and as Consul had excluded
 the Tribunes? when you had been scanda-
 lously attended with Guards? when, sunk 5
 in Lust and Liquor, you perpetrated the
 most shameful Pollutions within a House re-
 markable for its Purity? But I, as if I had
 been contending with a *Marcus Crassus*,
 with whom I have had many and severe 10
 Bickerings, and not with an infamous Bul-
 ly, while I bitterly bewail'd the Ruin of my
 Country, spar'd the Person of the Man.

To day therefore I will take care, that he 15
 shall understand what Favour I then shew'd
 him. This Wretch, void of all Humanity,
 and ignorant of the Decency requir'd even
 in low Life, read over the Letters which he
 pretended I wrote to him. For who, that 20
 has the least Knowledge of what passes a-
 mong Men of Worth and Figure, upon a
 Grudge happening to fall in, ever pub-
 licly expos'd and read over the Letters
 that were sent him by his Friend? To take 25
 away the Intercourse of absent Friends, what

is it else but to take from Life the social Pleasure of living? In Letters how many Jokes use to be, which if exposed would seem very silly! How many serious things, yet by no means fit to be expos'd!

HAVING said thus much of thy Brutality, let me now proceed to thy amazing Stupidity. What have you to object to me, My
 10 Man of Eloquence? for such you appear to *Musella Tamisius* and *Tiro Numisius*, who at this instant are standing with their Swords in their Hands, in the sight of the Senate; therefore I too shall think you eloquent, if
 15 you will shew me how you can prove them to be other than Assassines. But then, what can you object, should I deny that ever I sent you such Letters? Upon what Evidence canst thou convict me? Upon that of my
 20 own Hand-writing? In this you have a very profitable Dexterity. But how can you do it? For they are wrote by my Secretary. Now do I hate thy Tutor, who, notwithstanding all his great Wages, which I shall
 25 soon make appear, could not infuse into thee a Grain of Knowledge.

For what can shew less, I will not say of
an Orator, but of a rational Creature, than
to throw out a Charge against an Antago-
nist, which if the latter shall deny but upon 5
his bare Word, the other shall be so puzzled,
that he cannot proceed? But I do not deny it.
Yet by that very Fact I convict you not on-
ly of being void of Humanity, but of com-
mon Sense. For is there a Word in all these 10
Letters, that is not full of Kindness, Good-
manners, and Friendship? But all your
Pique is, that in these Letters I did not
shew how much I dislik'd you, that I ad-
dres'd you as my Fellow-Citizen, and a 15
Man of Worth, and not as a Ruffian and a
Robber. Yet, with all the Provocation I
have met with from you, which I might
justly resent, never did I expose your Letters,
by which you beg that I would give you 20
leave to recall a certain Person from Banish-
ment, and which you swear you never will
do without my Consent. My Consent you
obtain'd: For why should I oppose thy Au-
dacity, which neither the Authority of this 25
Order, the Respect due to the *Roman* People,
nor

nor any Laws could restrain? But after all,
 what did you require of me, if the Person
 for whom you interceded was recall'd by
Cæsar's Law? But he designed, forsooth a
 5 Compliment to me! tho' at the same Time,
 as the Law was pass'd, no Thanks were
 owing even to himself.

BUT, Fathers 'Conscript, I have a great
 10 deal to say, both for myself, and against
Antony. While I plead for myself, I beg
 you to hear me with *Indulgence*; and when
 I plead against him, I will take care that
 you shall hear me with *Attention*. At the
 15 same Time I entreat, that if you have had
 Proofs of my Moderation and Decency in
 every Step of my Life, as well as in my
 pleading, think not that I forget what is
 owing to my own Character, if in my
 20 Answer I shall use him according to the
 Provocation I have receiv'd. I will treat
 him as Consul, no more than he has treat-
 ed me as Consular; But his profligate
 life, his wretched Administration, and the
 25 Manner in which he was created, takes
 from

from him all Right to be Consul; but that I am Consular, is beyond all Dispute.

To set his own Consulate before you in the best Light, he objects to mine. A 5 Consulate that titularly was mine, but *virtually*, Fathers Conscript, it was yours. For what did I resolve, what did I execute, but by the Advice, Authority, and Decision of this Order? And shalt thou, not 10 only eloquent but wise as thou art, presume to reproach me with my Conduct, before those, whose Counsels and Wisdom gave it a Sanction? Did ever Man impeach my Consulate besides thyself and *Publius Clo-* 15 *dus*? Whose Fate, as it has overtaken *Curio*, now awaits thee because in thy House is the Instrument that proved fatal to both.

My Consulate does not please *Mark An-* 20 *tony*: Yet did it please *Publius Servilius*; give me leave to name him, who is last deceased, first in the List of the Consular Persons of that Time. It pleas'd *Quintus* 25 *Catulus*, whose Authority in this State shall

shall never die ; it pleas'd the two *Luculli*,
Marcus Crassus, *Quintus Hortensius*, *Caius*
Curio, *Marcus Lepidus*, *Calphurnius Piso*,
Marcus Glabrio, *Lucius Volcatius*, *Caius*
5 *Figulus*, with *Decius Silanus*, and *Lu-*
cius Murena, who were then Consuls elect.
What pleas'd these Consular Men pleas'd also
Marcus Cato, who as he left the World that
he might avoid much that he foresaw, never
10 saw you a Consul. But chiefly did my
Consulate please *Cneius Pompeius*, who
when he first came from *Syria*, as soon as
he saw me, complimenting and embracing
me, own'd it to be owing to my Friendship
15 that he shou'd again see his Country. But
why do I dwell upon Particulars? So much
did it please a full assembled Senate, that
there was not a Man who did not return
me Thanks as to a Father, who did not
20 own that to me he ow'd his Life, his Chil-
dren, his Fortune, and the Deliverance of
his Country.

BUT since our Country is now bereav-
25 ed of so many great Men as I have now
nam'd ; let me proceed to the Living ;
two

two of whom, and of Consular Dignity, are still alive. *Lucius Cotta*, a Man of the most consummate Capacity and Prudence, for that very Conduct which you blame, decreed a Thanksgiving in the most magnificent Terms, with the Assent of those very Men of Consular or Senatorial Dignity, whom I now have mentioned; an Honour that since the building of this City, never was conferr'd upon any Man in the Robes of Peace, besides myself.

WITH what Energy, with what Resolution, with what Majesty did *Lucius Cæsar*, your Uncle, pronounce Sentence upon the Husband of his own Sister, and your Step-father? Tho' he ought to have been the Pattern and Director of all your Counsels, of all your Conduct in Life, yet did you chuse to resemble your Step-father rather than your Uncle. I, tho' none of his Kinsmen, yet while I was Consul follow'd his Advice. Thou, tho' the Son of his Sister, yet didst thou ever consult with him upon aught that related to the Public? Immortal Gods! with whom does he consult?

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sult? Why with Men whose very Birth-Days we must hear of.

- To Day *Antony* does not appear ; why ?
 5 He celebrates a Birth-day in his Gardens.
 Whose is it? I will name no Man: Suppose it a Buffoon's, a Parasite's, or a Pimp's. Detestable Stain to Humanity! unsufferable Impudence, Infamy, and Lust!
 10 Thou, while thou hast a leading Senator, a distinguished Citizen, so near a Relation, never consult with him about thy Administration, but with those who having no Property of their own, drain thee of thine!
 15 So like a Patriot is thy Consulship conducted, so like a Traitor was mine.

ART thou so thoroughly lost at once to the
 Virtue of Chastity, and the Sense of Shame,
 20 as that thou darest to advance this in that very Temple, where I consulted with the Senate, once the glorious Head of a subjected World; but where thou hast posted thy abandon'd Ruffians with Swords in
 25 their Hands? But thou hast presum'd to say; (for thy Presumption is boundless,) that
 the

the Mount of the *Capitol*, when I was Consul, was fill'd with arm'd Slaves ; meaning, I suppose, that I forc'd the Senate into the scandalous Decree which it then made. Wretch as thou art, whether thou art ignorant of these, as well as of every thing besides that is good, or if thou art not ignorant of them, for talking with such Insolence in this awful Assembly! For was there a *Roman Knight*, was there a Youth of Quality, was there a Man of any Rank besides thyself, who can pretend to be a Citizen, who was not on the Mount of the *Capitol*, while the Senate was assembled in this Temple? Who amongst them did not inlist himself? insomuch, that even Clerks were wanting to write down, and the Registers were too scanty to contain their Names. For when abandon'd Ruffians confess their Intentions of being the Parricides of their Country ; when they are forc'd by the Discoveries of their Accomplices, their own Hands, and their almost speaking Letters, to own, that they had conspir'd to fire the City, to desolate *Italy*, to destroy the Commonwealth : Who must

must not then be rous'd to the Defence
 of the publick Safety? Especially as the *Ro-*
man People had then such a Leader, as
 were there now such another at their Head,
 5 must have made thee to share in the same
 Doom which then beset them.

HE affirms, that I did not deliver the
 Body of his Step-Father to be buried.
 10 This Accusation never was brought against
 me even by *Clodius*, whom, as my Enmity
 with him was on my Part well grounded,
 I am sorry you outdo in every manner of
 Wickedness. But what could possess you
 15 to remind us, that you was educated in the
 House of *Lentulus*? Was you apprehen-
 sive that we could not imagine you should
 be naturally such a Monster without the
 Assistance of Education?

20 BUT such was thy Stupidity, that thro' all
 thy Discourse thou wast still confounding
 thyself: So that what you *spoke* was not
 incoherent only; but entirely foreign
 and contradictory to what you *meant*; thus
 25 thro' the Whole of your Speech you did not
 seem

seem to be disputing with me, but with yourself. You acknowledged that your Step-father was involv'd in that unnatural Treason, yet you complain that he suffer'd. Thus, what was properly my Act, you 5 have approv'd; what was that of the whole Senate, you have condemn'd. For to me it was owing that the Guilty were seiz'd; to the Senate, that they were punish'd. This Master of Eloquence therefore does not 10 understand that in his Pleading he praises his Antagonist, and reproaches his Judges,

GIVE me now leave to enquire, by whose 15 (I will not call it *Presumption*, for he affects to be thought presumptuous,) but by whose Stupidity, an Imputation more hard of Digestion to him, tho' no Man can match him in it, the Mount of the *Capitol* 20 happen'd to be mention'd, while an arm'd Force is posted even amidst our Benches? Immortal Gods! in this Chappel of *Concord*, in which, during my Consulate, the most Patriot Measures were resolv'd on, 25 Measures to which we owe our Existence

230 CICE RO's O R A T I O N

at this Day, Guards are posted with Swords
in their Hands. Accuse the Senate, accuse
the Equestrian Order at that time connected
with the Senate, accuse every Rank, eve-
5 ry Citizen; but you must confess, that at
this Instant this Assembly is beset by Bar-
barians. It is not Audaciousness that puts
such an impudent Speech in thy Mouth,
but thy not perceiving the absolute Incon-
10 sistency of the Circumstances. Believe me,
thou art completely stupid. For what can
be more like an Idiot, than, while thou thy
self hast levied an armed Force that is de-
structive to thy Country, to charge another
15 with rising in Arms to protect her?

BUT you once attempted to be witty.
Kind Heaven ! how clumsily you cut
your Jokes ! And let me tell you, it was
20 partly your own Fault ; for you have a Lady
who might have instill'd some Wit into
you.

To the long Robe let Arms give Way.

How !

How! and did they not then give way?
 The long Robe afterwards indeed gave way
 to thy Arms. Let us therefore enquire
 which Conduct was preferable; that the
 Force of Traitors should yield to the Liber- 5
 ties of the *Romans*, or that Liberty should
 yield to thy Arms. But I will not answer
 thee in Stanzas, I will only say in short,
 that thou art void of all Knowledge, either
 in Poetry or any other Part of Literature. 10
 That I never was wanting in my Duty, ei-
 ther to the Publick, or to my Friends; yet
 by the Works of every Kind which in my
 Hours of Leisure from those more impor-
 tant Concerns of Life, I compos'd, that the 15
 Fruits of my Labours and Learning were of
 some Advantage to the Youth, and did
 some Honour to the Reputation of my
 Country. But this is foreign at present, let
 me proceed to what is more important. 20

You have affirm'd, that it was by my
 Advice that *Publius Clodius* was kill'd.
 What must the World have thought, had
 he been kill'd, when, in the Sight of all 25
 Q 2 Rome,

Rome, you pursu'd him in the Forum with a
 drawn Sword, and had compleated the
 Work, but that he threw himself under
 the Steps of a Bookseller's Stall, and by bar-
 5 ricading it, stopt your Pursuit? But what
 do I talk? I own, that I indeed counte-
 nanc'd you; but you yourself don't pretend
 that I advis'd you in what you then acted.
 But *Milo* could not have so much as my
 10 Countenance, for he finish'd his Business be-
 fore any body suspected that he had under-
 taken it. Yet I must be his Adviser; as if
Milo was a Man, who could not without
 an Adviser have done a Service to his Coun-
 15 try. But, you say, that I appear'd joyful.
 What! was it proper, that amidst so uni-
 versal a Joy, I should be the only dejected
 Person in all *Rome*?
 20 YET, tho' it was not quite so prudent to
 do it, a Tryal was appointed upon the Case
 of *Clodius*; for to what Purpose was a new
 Law enacted for trying a Man who had
 kill'd another, when a Tryal in such a
 25 Case was regulated by the Laws in Being?
 However, the Tryal went on. What
 then!

then! When that Affair was depending, no
body charg'd me; that was a Task reserv'd
for you a great many Years after it was
over. But as to what in a Cloud of
Words you have dar'd to advance, as if 5
by my Means *Pompey* was divided from
Cæsar's Friendship, and therefore it was
owing to me that the Civil War broke
out; you are not indeed absolutely in the
wrong, but mistaken in a very material 10
Point, which is, that of Time.

While *Bibulus*, that excellent Patriot,
was Consul, I omitted nothing, I did, I en-
deavour'd all I could to take *Pompey* off 15
from his Connection with *Cæsar*. But in
this *Cæsar* out-witted me; for he separat-
ed *Pompey* from my Friendship. But af-
ter *Pompey* had entirely thrown himself in-
to *Cæsar's* Hands, why should I have en- 20
deavour'd to take him off? it had been
foolish to have hop'd, it had been presump-
tuous to have attempted it.

But, say you, two Junctures happen'd in 25
which I advis'd *Pompey* to oppose *Cæsar*.

You have my Leave to blame both these Measures if you can. The first was, that the five Years Command of *Cæsar* should not be prorogued: The other, that *Pompey*
 5 should not suffer any Regard to be had to *Cæsar's* Absence. In either of which Measures had I succeeded, never had we fallen into these Calamities. Yet at the same time, after *Pompey* had transferr'd his own Power, and
 10 that of all the *Roman* Empire, to *Cæsar*, when he began too late to be sensible of what I had early foreseen; and when I perceiv'd that an unnatural War was to break out against my Country, with unwearied Pains did I
 15 labour to promote Peace, Harmony, and a Reconciliation; to many is the Exclamation I then us'd known. *I wish, O Pompey, that you never had contracted, or never had broken your Friendship with Cæsar. The*
 20 *one had been consistent with your Patriotism, the other with your Prudence.* Such, *Mark Antony*, were my Counsels, both with regard to *Pompey* and the State. Had they been pursued, still had the Constitution
 25 stood, and you must have fallen by your Crimes, your Indigence and Infamy.

B U T

BUT these are Instances of an old Date;
 one is later, *that Cæsar was kill'd by my Ad-*
vice. I am here, Fathers Conscript, appre-
 hensive of a very scandalous Charge, since
 it may appear as if I had set up this Shuffler 5
 to load me not only with my own Merits,
 but those of others. For who ever heard of
 my Name among those who were upon the
 Concert of that glorious Action? Yet whose
 Name, amongst all who were, was conceal'd? 10
 Whose not immediately publish'd? I should
 be more ready to charge some with falsely
 boasting that they were in the Secret, than
 with concealing it if they were.

BESIDES, how probable is it, that among 15
 so many, partly Men of no Figure, partly
 young Men, who concealed no body, my
 Name should have been kept a Secret? For
 if those Deliverers of their Country had want- 20
 ed Prompters to that Action, needed I to
 have prompted the two *Bruti*, who each had
 the Statue of *Lucius Brutus* every Day in his
 Eye, and one of them that of *Abala* besides?
 Would Men, descended of such Progenitors, 25
 have ask'd Advice of Strangers, rather than

236 C I C E R O ' S O R A T I O N

of their own Friends, abroad rather than at home? How! *Caius Cassius*, born of a Family impatient not only of Sovereignty, but of Superiority in any other Person, wanted,
 5 very probable indeed, that I should prompt him, tho' he would have done the thing without his illustrious Partners in *Cilicia*, at the Mouth of the River *Cydnus*, had not the other landed upon a Bank opposite to where
 10 he intended,

It was not the Ruin of his illustrious Father, the Death of his Uncle, the bereaving him of his Honours, but my Persuasion,
 15 that prompted *Cneius Domitius* to recover his Liberty. Did I persuade *C. Trebonius*? I would not have ventured even to have reason'd with him on such a Subject; and therefore his Country owes him greater Thanks,
 20 in that to the Friendship of one Man, he preferr'd the Liberty of all *Rome*, and chose to be the Expeller rather than the Partner of Usurpation. Was *L. Tillius Cimber* determin'd by my Advice? Tho' I rather was
 25 surprized that he should perform, than of Opinion that he would undertake such an
 Action;

Action ; and for this Reason did I admire him, that, regardless of Favours, he regarded the Commonwealth.

How shall I distinguish the two *Servilii*?
 Shall I call them *Casces* or *Abalas*? 5
 Canst thou imagine that they also were fir'd by my Persuasion, rather than Love for their Country? Tedious it would seem to recount the rest. That their Number was so great, was to their Country's Honour, and their 10 own Glory.

BUT mark in what Manner this penetrating Person is to convict me : When *Cæsar* was kill'd, says he, *Marcus Brutus*, 15 holding aloft his bloody Dagger, call'd out upon *Cicero* by Name, and congratulated him on the Recovery of Liberty. But why did he single out me? Because I was accessory? Take care that the Reason of his 20 calling upon me was not, that as he had perform'd an Action which might match what I had done, he call'd me to witness, that he there appear'd as the Rival of my Glory. But, thou consummate Driveler, 25 dost thou not understand, if what thou chargest

chargeſt me with, the entering into a De-
 ſign to kill *Cæſar*, be a Crime, that it is
 equally criminal to rejoyce at his Death?
 For where is the Difference of the Advifer
 5 and the Approver of an Action? Or what
 matters it whether I wiſh'd to ſee, or was
 glad to find it done? Is there therefore a
 Man, excepting thyſelf, and they who rejoyce
 at this Uſurpation, who was either againſt its
 10 being effected, or condemned it when it
 was? The Crime therefore was univerſal;
 for all good Men, as much as they could,
 were acceſſory to the Death of *Cæſar*. In
 ſome the Reſolution, in others the Spirit, to
 15 others the Opportunity was wanting; but
 in none the Will.

BUT mark the Stupidity of the Man, ra-
 ther let me ſay the Brute, for ſuch were his
 20 Words: MARCUS BRUTUS, WHOM I
 NAME TO DO HIM HONOUR, HOLDING
 UP THE BLOODY DAGGER, CALL'D A-
 LOUD UPON CICERO: THEREFORE MAY
 WE CONCLUDE THAT HE WAS ACCES-
 25 SORY. Therefore you call me a Villain,
 becauſe you *ſuſpect* that I *ſuſpected* ſome-
 what

what: Yet this Man, who rear'd the reeking Dagger, is by you nam'd *to do him Honour*! Be it so. Let the Stupidity be in thy Words. How much greater is that of thy Sentiments and Actions? Decide, my worthy Consul, the Merits of the Cause of the *Bruti, Caius Cassius, Cneius Domitius, Caius Trebonius*, and the rest? Sleep out thy Liquor, let me advise thee, and dispel the Fumes of the Wine. Must Torches be brought to arouse thee, slumbering over so weighty a Cause? Canst thou never understand, that thou must determine whether they who committed that Action were Murderers, or the Asserters of Liberty?

YET attend but ever so little, snatch one lucid Interval to think as a sober Man. For I, who confess myself to be their Friend, am charg'd by you as being their Accomplice; I deny that there is any Medium; I maintain, that if they were not the Deliverers of the *Roman* People, and the Preservers of this Constitution, they were worse than Assassins, worse than Murderers, nay worse than Parricides; in as much as a Man's killing

ing his natural Father, is not a Crime of so deep a Dye, as that of killing the Father of his Country, Thou, wise and deliberate as thou art, how sayst thou? If they are
 5 Parricides, why were they constantly made honourable mention of by thee, both in this Assembly, and before the People of *Rome*? Why had *Brutus*, upon thy Motion, a Dispensation from the Laws, of being *above* ten Days
 10 absent from the City? Why, with the amazing Applauses of *Brutus*, were the Plays of *Apollo* perform'd? Why Provinces allotted to *Cassius* and to *Brutus*? Why *Quæstors* added? Why the Number of their *Deputies*
 15 augmented? These were thy own Acts and Deeds, therefore are they not Murderers. It follows, that in your Judgment they are Saviours of the State, since no middle Denomination can be found,

20 WHAT'S the Matter? Do I disconcert you? Perhaps you do not perfectly understand what is so clearly laid down. The whole of what I have to say is as follows :
 25 Since by thee they have been acquitted of Guilt, by thee they have been adjudged worthy

worthy of the highest Rewards. Therefore now I will change the Strain of my Discourse; I will write to them, that in case they should be ask'd, if what you object to me is Truth, they should not disown 5 it. For I'm afraid that it may be thought dishonourable in them to conceal it from me, or scandalous in me to decline it when invited. For, O Holy *Jove*! was there ever a greater Action perform'd not only in this 10 City, but in this World? Any thing more glorious, any thing that can more endear the Actors to all the Ages of Posterity? Dost thou shut me up with Heroes, into the *Trojan* Horse of this great Design? I will 15 not disown it.

I EVEN return you Thanks, whatever your Intentions are; for so glorious is the Action, that I slight the Malice which you endeavour to raise against me, when I reflect on the Honour that attends it. For can there be a more glorious Fate, than that of the Men whom you declare you have expell'd and banish'd? Is there a Place so desert, so barba- 20 rous, as, when they shall approach it, not

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to court and entertain them? Are there Men
in the World so savage, as not to think
their beholding them, the greatest Blessing of
their Lives? What Posterity shall be
5 found so unmindful, what Records so un-
grateful, as not to crown their Memory
with immortal Renown? Do you enroll me
in so glorious a List.

10 B U T there is one Thing which I am a-
fraid of; namely, that you cannot prove your
Assertion: For had I been in the Concert,
I should have abolished out of the State, not
the Tyrant only, but Tyranny itself: And
15 had that *STILE*, as it is given, out, been mine,
believe me, I should not only have dispatch'd
one Act, but the whole Play. But if it is a
Crime to have wish'd for the Death of *Cæsar*,
how can you, *Antony*, answer for it, when
20 it is notorious, that at *Narbonne* you en-
ter'd into that Plot with *Caius Trebonius*,
and because you had been once in that De-
sign, we saw you when *Cæsar* was killing,
call'd aside by the same *Trebonius*. In-
25 deed (you see how fairly I deal) in that you
once could entertain a Sentiment of Virtue,
you

you have my Approbation ; in that you did not betray it, my Thanks ; and in that you did not execute it, my Pardon. The Execution requir'd a MAN.

BUT should any one bring you to a 5
Tryal, and apply to you the Saying of *Cæsar*,
What Purpose could it
SERVE ? Beware, I entreat you, that you
be not puzzled. Tho' indeed, as you your-
self own'd, it *serv'd the Purposes* of every 10
Man who was resolved not to be a SLAVE.
But your's above all, who are so far from
being a *Slave*, that you are a *King*. Who at
the Temple of *Ops* paid all your immense
Debts ? who, by Means of the Notes I have 15
mentioned, squander'd a prodigious Sum ?
Thou, to whom such a Treasure was car-
ried from *Cæsar's* House. Thou, whose
House is the most lucrative Shop for coun-
terfeit Notes and fictitious Writings, the 20
infamous Market-place for Lands, Towns,
Privileges, and Revenues.

WHAT then but the Death of *Cæsar*
could have reliev'd thy Necessities and paid 25
thy

thy Debts? You seem to be disconcerted about some something. Are you apprehensive lest this Charge may be thought to extend itself to you? I will rid you of your
 5 Apprehensions. No body will believe it; it is not for you to do a Service to your Country. The Heroes in that lovely Action were the most illustrious Men in this Republick. I say only, that you was pleas'd
 10 with it; I do not charge you with committing it. Thus have I answer'd the most heinous Part of my Accusation, let me now proceed to the other.

15 You objected to me, the Encampment of Pompey, and what was done at that Juncture. A Juncture, in which, had my Advice and Authority prevail'd, thou must at this Time have been *oppress'd with Want*, and
 20 we in the Enjoyment of Liberty; nor would the State have lost so many Generals, and so many Armies. For I own, that when I foresaw what actually happen'd, I was as much dejected as other good Patriots, had
 25 they foreseen the same, wou'd have been. It afflicted me, Fathers Conscript, that this

this Constitution, once preserv'd by your
Conduct and mine, was in a short time to
be ruin'd. Not that I was so uninstructed,
so unexperienc'd in the World, as that my
Spirit should be broken thro' a Passion for 5
a Life, the Continuance of which but
consum'd me with Anguish, while the
Loss of it wou'd have deliver'd me from all
Troubles; but I was willing to preserve a-
live those excellent Men, the Lights of the 10
Republick, of so many Consular, so many
of Pretorian Dignity, so many honourable
Senators, besides the whole Flower of our
Nobility and Youth, and an Army of wor-
thy Citizens; had these liv'd, even tho' it 15
had been upon the Terms of a mortifying
Peace (for any Peace to me seem'd pre-
ferable to a Civil War among my Country-
men) this Day WE had been in the Posses-
sion of the Government. 20

HAD my Advice prevail'd, and had not
they whose Preservation I had chiefly in
my Eye, flush'd with the Hopes of Victory,
oppos'd it, to say no more, thou never hadst 25
remain'd in this Order, or rather in this

City. But my Language, say you, made *Pompey* look upon me but very coldly. Did he ever love any Man more than he lov'd me? Was there a Man with whom he oftener
 5 talk'd, whom he oftener consulted? This indeed was very extraordinary, that two People differing upon the most important Points of Politicks, should still continue the same Intercourse of Friendship. But his
 10 Views and Sentiments were known to me, and mine to him. I had an Eye first to the Safety, next to the Dignity of my Countrymen; his chief View was providing for their immediate Dignity. And as both of
 15 us had a fix'd Point of View which we pursu'd, therefore our Disagreement was very moderate. But the Sentiments of that incomparable, that almost Divine Person, with regard to me, are known to those
 20 who accompany'd him to *Paphos* in his Flight from *Pharsalia*: Never did he mention me but with Honour, never but with Marks of the most friendly Concern, and confessing that I foresaw *more*; but that
 25 he had hop'd for *better* Events. And dare you presume to insult me by the mention

of

of that Man, while you own, that I was the Friend of his Person, and you the Purchaser of his Estate?

BUT I pass over that War, in which you 5
was but too successful. I will not take
notice even of the Jokes in the Camp,
which you lay upon me. That Camp in-
deed was a Camp full of Care; but Men,
even while their Situation is perplex'd, 10
if they are Men, sometimes unbend their
Spirits. But since he at once blames me
both for my Dejection and my Mirth, it is
a strong Presumption that I went into no
Extreme of either. You deny that I have 15
receiv'd any Legacies. I wish that Charge
of yours was true; then must many more
of my Friends and Relations have been now
alive. But how could that come into your
Head? For I have been Master of more 20
than 156000 *l.* by Legacies. Tho' in that re-
spect I own, that you have been a great
deal more lucky than I. None but
Friends mention'd me in their Wills, that
some Advantage might attend my Grief for 25
losing them. *Lucius Rubricus Cassius,* 3

R 2

Man

Man whom you never saw, made you his Heir. See now what Affection he had for you, when without knowing the Colour of your Hair, he disinherited his own Brother's

5 Son in your favour. He does not so much as mention in his Will, *Quintus Fuenis* a Roman Knight of the greatest Worth, in the greatest Friendship with himself, whom he had always promis'd should be his Heir;

10 and he nam'd as his Heir you, whom he never saw, with whom, at least, he never was in Company. If it is not giving you too much Trouble, I would ask you; what Kind of a Man in his Person was *Lucius*

15 *Tursellius*? How tall was he? Of what Corporation, and of what Ward? I cannot tell, say you, but I can tell you what Estates he had. Therefore he disinherited his Brother, and made you his Heir. He

20 likewise to the Prejudice of the true Heir, laid his Hands upon the proper Effects of a great many other People who were absolute Strangers to him. But my greatest Surprise is, that you should have the Pre-

25 sumption to mention *Heirships*, when you yourself

yourself was not Heir, even to your own Father.

WAS it to pick up these Stories, Ideot, that you *held forth* for so many Days at 5 another Person's Country Seat? Tho' indeed your Intimates give out, that you hold forth not to improve your Understanding, but to evaporate your Wine; and, to compleat the Farce, you appointed 10 a Master, one who in your and your Companions Eyes is a Rhetorician, with Liberty to speak against you as much as he pleased. A very pleasant Fellow indeed! But it is a very easy Matter to 15 find Subject enough against you and your Friends. Observe however the Difference betwixt you and your Grandfather. He spoke gradually, coolly, and to the Purpose; you speak hastily and slightly, and 20 what you say, is not to the Purpose.

BUT what Wages did you pay to your Master in Rhetorick? Hear, hear, 25 Fathers Conscript, and perceive the Wounds of
R 3 your

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your Country. You allotted two thousand Acres of the *Leontine* Lands, Tax-free, to *Sextus Clodius* Professor of Rhetorick ; you gave him those extravagant Wages, that
 5 you might remain a Dunce. Frontless Fellow, did you do this by virtue of *Cæsar's* Memorandums ? But in another Place I will talk of the *Leontine* and *Cam-*
 10 *panian* Lands, of which he has robb'd the Publick, that he might pollute them with his Scoundrel Tenants. For now, as I have said enough in answer to his Charge against me, give me leave to touch a little
 15 upon this Correcter and Amender of mine : for I will not exhaust my Subject, that if we should happen oftener to mount the Stage, as must be the Case, I may still fight with new Weapons ; an Advantage
 20 for which I am oblig'd to his inexhaustible Fund of Guilt and Wickedness, Have you a mind that I should examine your Conduct when you was but a Lad ? With all my Heart : Let us begin at your first set-
 25 ting out.

Do

Do you remember, that before you put
 on the manly Gown you was bankrupt?
 That, say you, is not my Fault, but my
 Father's. I grant it; for the Excuse is
 full of filial Duty. But your Impudence 5
 appear'd in your sitting in one of the four-
 teen Rows in the Theatre, when by the
Roscian Law there was a particular Place
 set apart for Bankrupts, even tho' they had
 become such not thro' their Mismanage- 10
 ment but their ill Luck. You appear'd in
 the Gown of a Man, but you quickly
 chang'd it with the Dress of a Woman.
 At first you was a common Whore; the
 Wages of your Prostitution were fix'd 15
 and high; but *Curio* soon interposed;
 he took you out of the Profession of a
 Prostitute; and as if he had cloath'd you
 in the Array of a Bride, he settled you in
 sure and certain Wedlock! 20

No Boy bought to satiate Lust was
 ever so much in his Master's Power, as

R 4

you

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you was in *Curio's*. How often did his Father thrust you out of his House? How often did he place Sentinels to prevent your crossing his Threshold? Yet you, fa-
 5 vour'd by Night, prompted by Lust, and compell'd by Hire, was let down through the Roof; Disorders which that Family could no longer bear with. Are you not conscious that what I mention is notori-
 10 ous? Reflect upon the Time when *Curio* the Father lay disconsolate in his Bed; when his Son prostrate in Tears at my Feet recommended you to my Care; begg'd that if he should insist upon above
 15 forty-eight thousand *l.* that I should defend you against his own Father; for that he was engag'd for you to that Amount. At the same time burning with Passion, he declar'd, since he could not bear the
 20 Pangs of a Separation from you, that he would go into Banishment.

At that Juncture I compos'd, or rather I cur'd these afflicting Disorders of that
 25 flourishing Family: I perswaded the Father to pay his Son's Debts. To clear in
 the

the World, by Means of his private Estate,
a Youth who gave the greatest Hopes of
being endow'd with every Accomplish-
ment of Sense and Wit; and by his pa-
ternal Power and Authority, to debar 5
him not only from being intimate, but
from keeping Company with you. As you
remember all my Conduct at that Time,
never, had you not trusted to those Swords,
would you have dar'd to challenge me 10
by your railing.

To pass over your Prostitution, and your
scandalous Intrigues; there are some Cir-
cumstances which I cannot with Decency 15
mention. Yet the Knowledge of this gave
you the greater Scope, since the Charge
which lies against you cannot be urg'd by
any Enemy, who has a Sense of Decency.
But observe the remaining Course of his 20
Life; and this I shall very quickly run o-
ver: For my Mind is hurried to speak of
his former, and his now daily Actions dur-
ing the Civil Wars, and amidst the most af-
flicting Calamities of his Country: To the 25
Relation of these, tho' you are much better
ac-

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acquainted with them than I am, yet continue, I entreat you, your Attention : For in such Actions the Passions ought to be fir'd, not only by knowing, but by recollecting
 5 them. I shall however enter upon the middle Stage of his Life, lest it may be too late before I reach the last.

DURING his Tribuneship, this Man,
 10 who boasts of his Kindness to me, was intimate with *Clodius*. He was the Firebrand of all his incendiary Proceedings. As to what he then contriv'd at his House ; I shall say nothing, he himself is the best Judge.
 15 From thence he went to *Alexandria*, in Defiance of the Authority of the Senate, of the Government, and of religious Rites. But he had *Gabinus* for his Leader, with whom he could not but do every thing in the best
 20 manner. When, or how did he return thence? He went from *Egypt* to the farther *Gaul*, before he went to his own House. But what House? Every body at that Time had a House of his own, but
 25 you had none. A House did I say! Was there a Place on Earth, where you could
 set

set your Foot, except *Misenus* alone, which, like another *Sisapo*, you and your Companions possess'd ?

Y o u left *Gaul* to stand for the Quæstorship. Dare you say that you visited your Mother before me? *Cæsar* had then wrote to me, that I would suffer you to make Satisfaction ; therefore I would not suffer you so much as to mention any Apology. I was afterwards your Patron, and I countenanced you when you stood for the Quæstorship ; at which time indeed you attempted, with the Approbation of all *Rome*, to kill *Publius Clodius* in the *Forum* : And tho' this Attempt was the Effect of what you yourself had resolved, and not of what I suggested, yet you profess'd that you never could satisfy me for the Injuries you had done me unless you kill'd *Clodius*. I am therefore surpriz'd why you say that *Milo* dispatch'd him thro' my Instigation, when I never gave you the least Encouragement when you voluntarily made the very same Offer. Tho' if your Resolution had still continued, I should have chose that that Action should be look'd upon as honourable
for

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for you, rather than advantageous for me. You was made Quæstor, and instantly without any Decree of the Senate, without any Allotment, without any Law, you hurried
 5 over to *Cæsar*; for that you thought to be the only Course by which, upon this Earth, Want, Debt, Villainy, and desperate Circumstances could find Shelter. There, when by his Profusion and your own Ra-
 10 pine you had glutted yourself (if it can be said you was glutted with what you had immediately disgorged) you flew, needy as you was, into the Tribuneship, that you might, as far as you could, imitate the Con-
 15 duct of your Husband in that Office.

LEARN now, I beseech you, not what relates to the Impurity and Intemperance of his domestick Disgrace, but to his impious and unnatural Conduct against us and our
 20 Fortune; or, which is the same thing, against the whole State: Because you will find, that from his Wickedness all our Calamities had their Birth; for, when under the Consulate of *Lucius Lentulus* and *Caius*
 25 *Marcellus*, you shew'd a Willingness to sup-
 port

port your weaken'd and almost falling Country, on the first of *January*, and desir'd to favour *Caius Cæsar* himself, could he have been brought to a right way of thinking: Then did *Antony* oppose the venal, the prostitute Tribuneship, to disconcert your Designs, and subjected his own Neck to that Ax, under which many for less Crimes had fallen. But, *Mark Antony*, against you, the Senate, while it was yet unmix'd, and so many of its Lights not yet extinguished, decreed that Punishment which, by the Usage of our Ancestors, was commonly decreed against an Enemy of his Country. And have you presum'd to speak against me before the Senate, tho' by this Order I have been adjudged to be the Preserver, and you the Enemy of the State? The Mention of this your Guilt has been indeed omitted, but not the Remembrance of it abolished, while Mankind, while the Glory of the *Roman* People shall remain; that Glory, which if not extinguished by you, must be eternal, that pestilentious Opposition shall be mentioned. Was there a partial, was there a rash Step taken by the Senate, when you, a single Youth,

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Youth, restrain'd that whole Order from
 decreeing what related to the publick Safe-
 ty? This was not once, but often; nor
 would you admit of any Representations or
 5 any treating upon the Authority of the Se-
 nate. Yet what was their Intention, but
 to prevent you from utterly abolishing and
 ruining the Government; when neither the
 Requests of our leading Citizens, the Ad-
 10 vice of your Elders, nor the Debates of a
 numerous Senate, could shake your venal, your
determined Resolution? Then after many pre-
 vious Temptations, that Blow was necessarily
 inflicted on you, which before you few had
 15 felt, but none without suffering by its Weight.
 Then did this Order put Arms against you
 into the Hands of the Consuls, and our o-
 ther Commanders and Powers, which you
 never could have escaped, had you not in-
 20 listed yourself in *Cæsar's* Army.

You, *Mark Antony*, you, I say, was the
 Chief who furnished *Cæsar*, whose Passion
 was to throw every thing into Confusion,
 25 with a Pretext of making War upon his
 Country. For what other Pretext had he?
 What

What Motive did he alledge for his outrageous Conduct and Actions, except the Neglect of the Interposition, the setting aside of the Tribunitial Power, and the Limitations imposed upon *Antony* by the Senate? I shall not 5 say how false, how trifling all this is, especially as it is impossible for any Man ever to have a justifiable Reason for taking up Arms against his Country. But to say nothing of *Cæsar*, yet you must allow that the Cause 10 of this most detestable War was grounded in your Person. How wretched are you if you understand, how much more wretched if you do not understand that this is committed to History, that this 15 stands upon Record, and that no Posterity in all After-ages shall ever be ignorant or unmindful of this Fact: That the Consuls were driven from *Italy*, and with them *Pompey*, the Light and Ornament of the 20 *Roman* Empire, all the Consulars, whose State of Health would suffer them to join in that Rout and Flight: That they who either were, or had been Prætors, the Tribuns of the People, a great Part of the 25 Senate, the whole Body of their Youth: in

a Word, that our Government was driven
or exterminated from its Abodes !

THUS, as the Growth of Trees and Ve-
5 getables shoots from the Seed, you are
the Seed of this most calamitous War. Ye
mourn the Slaughter of three *Roman* Ar-
mies : They were slaughter'd by *Antony*.
Ye bewail the Loss of our most illustrious
10 Citizens: It was *Antony* likewise who snatch-
ed them away. The Authority of this
Order is abolish'd : It is abolish'd by *Antony*.
All the Scene of Calamity that afterwards
appear'd to our Eyes (and what Species of
15 Calamity has not appear'd?) if we reason
rightly on the Matter, was owing to *Antony*
alone. As *Helen* to the *Trojans*, so to this
Republick was *Antony* the Cause of War,
Calamity, and Destruction. The rest of
20 his Conduct, as Tribune. was of a piece
with its Commencement. He effected all
that the Precaution of the Senate, while the
Constitution was inviolated, had taken care
should not be effected. But how villainous-
25 ly he exercised his Villainy, you yourselves
shall judge.

H E

He restored many who had been condemned, but never mentioned his Uncle. If he was severe, why did not his Severity extend to all? If he was pitiful, why did not his Pity reach you? But the rest I omit. 5
He has restored *Licinius Denticula*, his Play-fellow, who was condemned as a Gamester, as if indeed it was unlawful to play with one who was condemned; but this he did that he might take the Advantage of the 10 Law's discharging those Debts which he had lost in Play.

WHAT Reason did you alledge before the People of *Rome* for his being recalled? 15
To be sure an Information had been granted against the Party in his Absence! Sentence was passed before the Cause was opened! There was no express Statute against playing at Dice; he was over-powered by Force 20 and Arms; in short, as was said of your Uncle, the Trial was under a pecuniary Influence. None of these was the Cause: But he was a good Man, and a worthy Patriot: That's nothing to the Purpose: But 25
when he restored the most infamous of Mankind, a Man who did not scruple to play in the *Forum* at Dice, a Man who was condemned upon the Statute prohibiting

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that Game, does he not himself avow his
Passion for Play?

BUT in the same Tribuneship when *Cæ-*
5 *sar* after his marching into *Spain*, had deli-
vered *Italy* to be trampled upon by this *An-*
tony, what a Progress did he make over
the Country! What a Review of our mu-
nicipal Cities! I know that I am now treat-
10 ing of Facts, that of all others are most
publickly in Every-body's Mouth, and what
I either now speak or am to speak, is better
known to those who were then in *Italy*, than
to me who was not. Yet will I point at the
15 Facts particularly; tho' all that I can say,
must fall short of what you yourselves
know. Was ever so lewd, so polluted, so scan-
dalous a Conduct heard of in this World?

20 A Tribune of the People was carried in
a Cart, Lawrel'd *Lictors* led the Procession,
and an Actress was borne about in an open
Sedan. As the Citizens and Men of Credit
in the Towns were obliged to meet her on
25 the Road, they did not accost her by her
own notorious and theatrical Name, but
by that of *Volumnia*. A Waggon followed,
full of Bawds, and the leudest of Attendants,
while the slighted Mother followed the
Strumpet

Strumpet of her polluted Son, as if she had been his Bride: Melancholy Fruitfulness of an afflicted Woman! With the Traces of this Lewdness did he mark all our Corporations, our Præfectures, our Colonies, and in short, all *Italy*. 5

DOUBTFUL and dangerous it is, Fathers Conscript, to blame his other Actions. He is a Man of the Sword, and his Sword he 10 glutted with the Blood of his Countrymen far unlike himself. Happy he was, if any Happiness can ever associate with Guilt. But as I must beware of reproaching his Veterans, and lest he should provoke their 15 Indignation against me, I will say nothing of the Nature of the War. Tho' after all, the Case of the Soldiers is quite different from yours; they followed, but you sought a Leader; you returned victorious from *Thessaly* to 20 *Brundisium* with the Legions. There you did not kill me. A mighty Favour indeed! For I confess it was in your Power. There was not a Man who attended you, who did not think that you ought to spare me; for so 25 strong is the Passion for our Country, that even to your Legions I appeared a sacred Person, because they remembered that by me their Country was preserved. But admitting

you gave me a Thing which you did not take away, and that I now possess Life, because you did not rob me of it ; was it possible for me to look upon my Preservation as
 5 a Favour, since by means of your Affronts, I am obliged to speak what you now hear?

You came to *Brundisium* in the very Bosom, and the Arms of your little Actress.
 10 How ! Do I lie ? How wretched it is to be unable to deny what it is shameful to confess ! If you was not ashamed before our municipal Cities, was you as insensible before your Veteran Army ? For was there a Soldier, who
 15 did not see her at *Brundisium* ? Who did not know that she came so many Days Journey to wish you Joy ? Was there a Man who did not grieve that he should be so late in knowing what a worthless Fellow he served ?

23

You made a second Tour of *Italy*, attended by the same Actress. Cruel and miserable was the quartering of your Soldiers upon the Towns ; and scandalous was the
 25 Plunder of Gold and Silver, but especially Wine in the City ; and besides all this, *Cæsar* knowing nothing of the Matter while he was at *Alexandria*, *Antony*, by the Favour of his Friends, was appointed General of the
 Horse

Horfe. Then he thought he had a Right to live with *Hippias* uncontroul'd, and to deliver the Tributary Horfes to *Sergius* the Player. He then chose the House of *Marcus Piso*, and not the House which he now 5 so unworthily fills. Why should I disclose his Decrees, his Rapaciousness, the Legacies which he unjustly bestowed, and those which he violently forced? He was pinched by want; to what Hand to turn himself he 10 knew not; he had not as yet come to the large Estate, which was left him by *Lucius Rubrius*, and that left him by *Lucius Turselius*; he had not yet all of a sudden started up the Heir of *Pompey*, and a great many 15 others who were absent. As yet he was obliged to act in the Manner of Robbers, who live from Hand to Mouth on what they plunder.

20

BUT let me no longer talk of his Actions as a sturdy Beggar; let me rather pass on to the more scandalous Circumstances of his Levity. At the Marriage of *Hippias*, such a Load of Wine did you pour down that 25 Throat into these Sides, and so thoroughly did you soak all that Prize-fighting Person of yours, that you was in a Necessity of disgorging it next Day in fight of the People

of *Rome*. A Circumstance detestable, not only in seeing, but in hearing? Had you done this in the Time of Supper, amidst your extravagant Debauch of Drinking, who
 5 would not have thought it scandalous? But in a full Assembly of the *Roman* People, vested with a public Character, the General of the Horte, in whom it must have been scandalous even to belch, vomited, and filled
 10 his own Bosom, and all the Tribunal with indigested Morfels, smelling rank of Wine; but this he acknowledges to be one of his Blots. Let us now proceed to his Beauties.

15 *Cæsar* went to *Alexandria*, happy indeed in his own Eyes, but in mine, if Rebellion against his Country can make a Man unhappy, he must have been wretched. At a public Auction, before the Temple of Jove
 20 the *Sayer*, the Goods of *Pompey*, (How wretched am I! my Tears indeed are spent, but my Grief is lively) the Goods, I say, of the great *Pimpey*, were put up by the doleful Voice of a public Cryer. In this single
 25 Instance did this City groan, forgetful of her Slavery; and tho' every Man's Soul was enthralled, being all overawed by Fear, yet the Groans of the People of *Rome* found a free Passage. While all were wondering,
 who

who would be so impious, so frantic, so much
 an Enemy to Gods and Men, as to dare to
 bid at this detestable Sale! None besides
Antony. This was the more remarkable,
 as there stood around the Auctioneer Men
 who boggled at nothing else. There was
 found but one Man who durst venture to do
 what the most presumptuous Man alive
 would have avoided and dreaded.

DID then such Stupidity, or rather such
 Frenzy, seize you, as to be ignorant, that
 while you, descended of such a Family,
 stood as a Bidder in that Place, and a Bidder
 too for the Goods of *Pompey*, you was the
 Object of the Curses, the Detestation of the
Roman People, and the present and future
 Resentment of both Gods and Men? But
 with what Insolence did this voracious Mis-
 creant seize upon the Goods of that Patriot,
 whose Courage rendered the *Romans* terrible,
 and whose Justice endeared them to foreign
 Nations!

HAVING therefore, all of a sudden im-
 mersed himself in the Riches of this great
 Man, like the Character in the Play, there
 was little betwixt his Want and Wealth.
 But, as a Poet, I don't know who he is, ex-
 presses

presses it, *What slightly comes, slightly goes*:
 It is incredible, it is prodigious, how much
 Wealth he squandered in a few, I will not
 say Months, but Days. Large was the
 5 Quantity of Wine, large the Services of
 massy Plate, of fine Furniture, nobly fitted up
 for various Places, such as befitted not Lux-
 ury indeed, but Plenty; yet in a few Days
 they were all dissipated. Was *Charibdis*
 10 herself so voracious? What do I talk of *Cha-*
ribdis! *Charibdis*, if ever there was a *Charib-*
dis, was but a single Monster. By Hea-
 vens! It seemed impossible for the Ocean
 itself so quickly to swallow down so much
 15 Wealth, so widely separated, and situated in
 so very various Places! Nothing remained
 shut or sealed up; nothing was even com-
 mitted to writing; whole Cellars of Wine
 were lavished upon the greatest Miscreants;
 20 some Things became the Plunder of Actors,
 some of Actresses; his House was crammed
 with Gamesters and Drunkards; the De-
 bauch went round for whole Days in diffe-
 rent Places; many were his losing Scores at
 25 Game, for even *Antony* was not always
 lucky. There you might have seen the pur-
 ple Quilts of *Pompey* bedecking the Beds of
 Slaves in their Bed-Rooms. Cease then to
 wonder that all this Wealth was so suddenly
 dissipated;

dissipated; for such Profusion must have quickly consumed not only the Fortune of one Man, however, great as that was, but Towns and Provinces.

5

EVEN his Houses and Gardens were swallowed up. Frontless Impudence! for you to presume to enter that House; to cross that most awful Threshold; to present that ominous Countenance before Household Gods¹⁰ of that Family! Did you not blush to dwell so long in a House which none could behold, and none could pass by for a long time without shedding Tears? A House in which, however senseless you may be, it was impos-¹⁵sible that aught should give you Pleasure.

DID you think you was entering into your own House, when you beheld the naval Spoils which adorned its Porch? By no Means;²⁰ for, senseless and regardless as you are, yet still you know yourself, your Abilities, and your Friends. Nor do I indeed believe that it was possible for you not to be distracted both asleep and awake; let you be ever so²⁵ violent and frantic, when the Form of that matchless Hero presented to your Imagination, you must, if asleep, have awakened in
Horror,

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Horror; and often, if awake, have been seized with Frenzy.

For my Part, indeed, I compassionate its
 5 very Walls and Roofs: For what did that
 House ever behold but what was modest,
 but what discovered the greatest Purity of
 Conduct, the greatest Sanctity of Manners?
 For *Pompey*, Fathers Conscript, you well
 10 know, was a Man equally to be admired in
 his private, as he was eminent in his public
 Capacity. Nor was his Conduct abroad
 more glorious than his OEconomy at home
 was amiable. Yet under his Roofs, his
 15 Bed-chambers are converted into Brothels,
 and his Dining-rooms into Drinking-booths.
Antony now denies all this. Give over, give
 over your Enquiries. He is now commenced
 an OEconomist; he has divorced his Stroller
 20 with all the Formality of Law; he has taken
 from her his Keys; he has turned her out of
 Doors. Would you wish for a more credit-
 able sober Citizen, thro' the whole Course of
 whose Life the most commendable Action
 25 was his divorcing an Actress.

How often does he, in a swaggering Fit,
 talk of his being both *Consul* and *Antony*;
 or, in other Words, both *Consul* and a very
scandalous

scandalous Fellow; both *Consul* and a very
great Villain; for what else can you mean
 by the Word *Antony*? For if the Name
 could have implied any Dignity, no doubt of
 it, your Grandfather would have sometimes
 stiled himself both *Consul* and *Antony*. Yet
 he never did: My Colleague, your Uncle, would
 have done the same, unless you are the only
 Person of your Name. But I will pass over
 these Faults, which are not peculiar to that
 Character in which you have harassed your
 Country; let me return to the Scene in which
 you was distinguished; I mean the Civil
 War; a War, begun, contrived, and under-
 taken by your Means. 5 10 20

UNEQUAL you was to this War, as well
 on account of your Cowardice as your
 Lust: You had tasted, or rather swallowed
 down the Blood of your Countrymen: In
 the Battle of *Pbarsalia* you led the *Van*:
 You had murdered *Lucius Domitius*, a Man
 of the greatest Quality and Eminence; af-
 ter cruelly harassing, you had butchered
 many who had escaped from the Battle,
 whom *Cæsar*, as he did to some others,
 would perhaps have pardon'd: After so many
 and so glorious Actions, why did you not
 follow *Cæsar* into *Africa*; especially as so
 much

much of the War was yet unfinished?
 What passed then? In what favour was you
 with *Cæsar* upon his return from *Africa*?
 In what rank? As General, you had been
 5 his *Questor*; as Dictator, his General of the
Horse; you had been the Leader of the
 War, the Adviser of his Cruelty, the Part-
 ner in the Plunder, and as you yourself
 owned, the Heir of his Will. But you was
 10 asked for the Money which you owed for the
 House, for the Gardens, and for the Goods.

At first you answer'd with downright
 Fierceness: And that I may not seem always
 15 to put you in the wrong, I own that what
 you said was almost just and equitable. "*Cæ-*
sar ask me for Money! Why more than I
 "ask him!" Has he conquered without
 me? That he could not do. It was I who
 20 furnished him with the Pretext for the
 Civil War, who passed ruinous Laws, who
 took up Arms against the Consuls and Ge-
 nerals of the *Roman* People, against the
 Gods, the Religion, and the Property of
 25 *Rome*, and against my Country herself. Did
 he conquer for himself alone? No; if the
 Guilt was in common, why should not the
 Booty be in common too? You demanded
 but

but what was reasonable, but what did that signify, while he had more Power?

THEREFORE turning a deaf Ear to all you said, he turned his Soldiers loose both 5 upon yourself and your Bail; and when that famous Inventory was produced by you, all of a sudden, what Diversion did it afford? That the Rent-Roll should be so large, the Estates so various and so many, and yet that 10 there should not be a single Article, except a Part of *Misenas*, which the Seller had a Right to call his own. But miserable was the Appearance which that Sale made; a few of *Pompey's* Cloaths, and those all sul- 51 lied; some of his Silver Plate all battered together, some of his Slaves all in Rags and Nastiness, so that we were grieved that any thing of his should remain for us to see.

20

THE Heirs of *Lucius Rubrius*, however, by a Warrant from *Cæsar*, put a Stop to this Sale. The Knave was now trapped; to what Side he should turn him he did not know. At that very Juncture therefore he sent 25 an Assassin to *Cæsar's* House, who was said to have been caught with a Dagger in his Hand, of which *Cæsar* complained with bitter Invectives against you in the Senate. *Cæ-*
sar

far, went to *Spain*, having on account of your Poverty, indulged you in a few Days for making up your Payment. You did not even then follow him. What! so good a
 5 Gladiator, yet so early received your Discharge!

Can any one then be afraid of a Man, who is so very cautious in chusing his own
 10 Party, that is carving his own Fortune? Yet at last to *Spain* he did go, but he says it was with Danger that he went. But how did *Dolabella* make out his March? *Antony*, you either ought never to have embraced
 15 that Party, or if you did embrace it, to have defended it to the last. Thrice did *Cæsar* fight with his Countrymen in *Thessaly*, *Africa* and *Spain*.

20 *Dolabella* was present in all these Battles; and in *Spain* he received a Wound. In my own Judgment, indeed I condemn him; but tho' I condemn the Principles on which he acted, his Constancy is commendable. But
 25 who are you? The Children of *Cneius Pompeius* first demanded to be restored to their Country. It is allowed, that to oppose this was a Cause in common to you with others.
 But

But they demanded the Restitution of their Gods, the Altars, the Property of their Family; they demanded a Restitution of their paternal Estate which you had unjustly seized. As the lawful Claimants to all these 5 demanded them with the Sword in their Hands, tho' where there is no Right there can be no Justification, yet still was it very justifiable for the Intruder upon *Pompey's* Estate to fight against *Pompey's* Heirs. 10

WHILE at *Narbonne* you was vomiting amidst your riotous Entertainments, was not *Dolabella* fighting for you in *Spain*? But how did you return from *Narbonne*? Yet does 15 *Antony* demand why I so suddenly returned. Lately, Fathers Conscript, I laid before you the Reason of my Return. I was willing, had it been in my Power, to have done some Service to my Country before the first of 20 *January*. But as you asked me how I found my way home; I answer in the first place, by Day, and not by Night. In the next place, I was dressed in a Gown and Shoes, without either wooden Pattins or a 25 short Cloak. So you look upon me with an angry Eye, indeed! Sure you would be glad to be Friends with me, if you knew how much

I am ashamed of that Infamy which gives you no Concern. Of all the Indecencies among Mankind, never did I hear, never did I see any thing more scandalous. That you, 5 who looked upon yourself as General of the Horse, who designed next Year to sollicite, or rather to demand, the Consulship, should thro' all the Corporations and Colonies of *Gaul*, in which we used to sollicite for the 10 Consulship, during the times when it was solicited, and not demanded, that you should run in wooden Shoes and a short Cloak.

BUT observe the Levity of the Fellow: 15 Having come to the *red Rocks* about the tenth Hour of the Day, he slunk into a tippling Booth, where he concealed himself, and drank hard till Night. Then he drove in his Chaise to the City as fast as he could, 20 and came to his House all muffled up. Says the Porter, Who are you? A Letter-Carrier from *Marcus*, answers the other. He is immediately introduced to the Lady, on whose account he came; and he gives her a 25 Letter, which she reads with Tears. It was indeed lovingly wrote, and contained in Substance, " That from thence-forward he " would have nothing to do with the Strol- " ler: That he had transplanted all his " Thoughts

“ Thoughts from the one, and placed it
 “ with the other.” At this she wept again,
 and more plentifully. Then the good-na-
 tured Man could not bear it: He unmuffled
 his Head, and jumped about her Neck. 5
 Infamous Fellow! (for do you deserve a more
 gentle Epithet?) was it that a Woman might
 unexpectedly, by your suddenly discovering
 yourself, see a Male-Prostitute, that you
 fill’d the City with nocturnal Terrors, and for 10
 many days struck a Dread thro’ all *Italy*? One
 Object of your Passion was at your House,
 but another, and a more scandalous one, was
 abroad, which was left *Lucius Plancus*
 should distress your Bail. But when, by the 15
 Tribune of the People, you was brought into
 the Assembly, when you answered that *your*
own Affairs had brought you thither, you
 became the Talk even of the People.

20

BUT enough of Trifles: let us now come
 to Affairs of greater Importance. When
Cæsar returned from *Spain*, you was by far
 the most forward of all others in meeting
 him: You both went and returned with 25
 Dispatch, that he might know, tho’ you was
 not quite so valiant, you was at least as ready.
 Again, some way or other, you came into his
 good Graces; but this was the Characteristic

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of *Cæsar*, that when he knew a Man to be desperately in Debt and Want, and at the same time an enterprizing Miscreant, him he received into his Bosom-Friendship.

5 HAVING these eminent Recommendations in your own Person, he ordered that you should be returned Consul even along with himself. It was not amiss that *Dolabella* then prompted to stand for it, was persuaded and bubbled. But how treacherously you have both behaved to *Dolabella* is a Secret to No-body. *Cæsar* prompted him to declare himself a Candidate, while he appropriated and transferred to himself what was thus promised and accepted of; and you clubb'd your Interest with *Cæsar* in this Piece of Treachery. The first of *January* comes: We are forc'd into the Senate-House: *Dolabella* then inveighed more freely and more bitterly against this Fellow than I do now. But when he grew in a Passion, good Gods! What did he not say?

25 THEN *Cæsar* first of all told us, that before he should set out, he would order that *Dolabella* should be Consul: Yet they deny that a Man, who always talked and acted in this manner, was a King. But when
Cæsar

Cæsar had made this Declaration, this Augur told us, that he was cloathed with that holy Character as to be able by his Auspices either to stop the Elections, or to render them void ; and he made the most solemn 5 Affeverations that he would exert this Power. Here you have one Proof of his incredible Stupidity.

FOR how ! had you not have been Augur 10 and yet been Consul, was it more difficult to effectuate what you said you could do by your sacerdotal Authority alone ? Take care that it is not more easy ; for we have only the Right of declaring vested in us ; the Right 15 of Inspection is vested in the Consuls, and even the other Magistrates. Well, I admit this to be but a Slip ; for how can we expect Exactness in a Fellow always drunk ? But remark his Impudence. He told a 20 great many Months before in the Senate-house, that he would either put a Negative upon *Dolabella's* Election by the Auspices, or that he would do what he actually did. But could any Man foresee what Defect 25 there was to be in the Auspices, unless he

had determined before-hand to interrupt the Election by observing them while the *Comitia* were holding? But this is never allowed of at the *Comitia* by our Laws, and
 5 if any Augur has observed them, they ought to be declared, not while the *Comitia* are holding, but before they are assembled. But his Ignorance and Impudence go hand in hand; he neither knows what becomes
 10 an Augur, nor acts what consists with Decency. You may remember his Conduct as Consul from that Day to the Ides of *March*: Was ever Beadle more fawning, more submissive? He could do nothing of himself: he
 15 requested every thing; and thrusting his Head into his Colleague's Litter, he petitioned him for every venal Gratuity.

THE day comes for *Dolabella's* Election; 20 the preferring Lots are drawn. He remains quiet: they are declared, still he says nothing; the first Class of the prerogative Tribe is called, their Vote is reported: And then, as usual, the second Class is summoned
 25 to vote: All this was done sooner than I have spoke it. When Business was over, the worth

worthy Augur (who would not think him another *Lelius* ?) called out, ADJOURN. Matchless Impudence ! What had you seen ? What had you perceived ? What had you heard ? You neither then, nor to this Day 5 pretend that you was observing the Heavens. This Bar therefore interposed, which so far back as the first of *January* you had seen and foretold. Therefore I trust in Heaven that you have bely'd the Auspices rather to your 10 own than your Country's Confusion. Under the Pretence of Religion you embarrassed the *Roman* People. You collusively declared as an Augur to an Augur, and as a Consul to a Consul. I'll go no farther, lest I should 15 seem to shake the Acts of *Dolabella* ; which some time or other must necessarily be laid before our College.

BUT see the Arrogance and Insolence of 20 this Fellow ! As long as you pleased, *Dolabella* was unduly elected Consul ; and as soon as you changed your Mind he is created with regular Auspices. But if, when an Augur declares in the Words you declared in, 25 they go for nothing confess that when

you called out ADJOURN, you was drunk :
 For if there is any Validity in these Words,
 I require you as a Brother-Augur here to
 make it appear.

5 BUT left in my Speech I should skip over
 one most beautiful Incident of the many
 that have happened in the Course of *Mark*
Antony's Life, let me proceed to the *Luper-*
cal Games. He is no Hypocrite, Fathers
 10 Conscript. It is plain, that he is now touched,
 he sweats, he grows pale : Let him do any
 thing but vomit, as he did in the *Minutian*
Portico. I should be glad to know what
 Apology can be made for so scandalous a
 15 Behaviour, that I may see what Return he
 has had for the large Wages he paid to his
 Rhetorick-Master, and for the *Leontine*
Field. Your Colleague sat in the *Rostra*,
 cloathed in a purple Robe, upon a golden
 20 Throne, with his own Crown on his Head.
 You went up to him, you approached his
 Throne ; tho' you was a *Lupercal*, yet still
 ought you to have remembered that you
 was at the same time a Consul: You pro-
 25 duced a royal Diadem : The *Forum* set
 up

up a general Groan. From whence came that Diadem? you did not take it up after he had flung it away: But you brought from home the meditated, the concerted Treason. When you put it on his Head, 5 the People sent up a Groan of Anguish: But when he rejected it, a Shout of Applause. You therefore, Traitor, alone, after establishing Tyranny, desir'd to have the Man who was your Colleague, your Prince, 10 and at the same Time you made the Experiment how far the Patience and Forbearance of the *Roman* People could extend.

Y o u then affected to move his Compassion: you threw yourself as a Suppliant 15 at his Feet: For what Favour? That you might be a Slave. This could be a Favour to you alone, who, from your Childhood, have liv'd so as to bear any thing, so as to render you a supple Slave: But sure you 20 had no such Commission from us or the People of *Rome*. Beautiful was your Eloquence, when naked you harangued the People. Could any thing be more disgraceful, more infamous, more meriting the 25 severest Chastisement than this? Do you

expect that I am to gore you with my
 Stings ? If you have the smallest Particle of
 Sensation about you, this Speech must
 wound, must harrow up your Soul. Ten-
 5 der, as I am, of detracting from the Glory
 of the greatest of Mankind, yet let me
 speak it in the Anguish of Spirit ; What can
 be more shameful, than that the Man who
 bestowed a Royal Diadem should live,
 10 whilst all the World confesses, that the
 Man who rejected it, was deservedly put to
 Death ? He even ordered this Inscription to
 be enter'd into the Calendar at the Time of
 the *Lupercals*: ' That *Mark Antony* the Con-
 15 ' sul, at the Command of the People, offer-
 ' ed to *Caius Cæsar* perpetual Dictator,
 ' Royalty ; but that *Cæsar* refus'd it.' Now
 indeed I am not at all surprized that you
 have disturbed the publick Tranquillity; that
 20 you not only hate the City, but the Sun.
 That you pass your Life with these most
 abandon'd Ruffians, not only intemperately,
 but without any manner of Thought ; for in
 Time of Peace where can you have a Foot-
 25 ing ? how can you be shelter'd by Laws and
 Regulations, who did your best by intro-
 ducing Soverign Authority, to abolish them?
 Was

Was *Lucius Tarquinius* banished? was *Spurius Cassius*, *Melius*, *Marcus Manlius* put to Death for this, that many Ages after, contrary to all Law, a King should be set up at *Rome* by *Mark Antony*? But to return to the Auspices.

5

GIVE me leave to ask you how you would have behaved in the Business which was to have come before *Cæsar* on the Ides of *March*. I hear indeed, that you came prepared, because you imagined that I was 10 to have spoken upon the Auspices, which, tho' fictitious, there was a Necessity of obeying. The Guardian Genius of *Rome* freed you from the Danger of that Day: But do you imagine, that the Death of *Cæ-* 15
sar has prevented your being try'd upon the Nature of these Auspices? But I have touched upon a Juncture prior to those Facts with which my Speech set out.

How you fled, how you trembled on 20 that glorious Day! Into what a Fit of Despair did you fall through the Consciousness of your Guilt, while out of the general Rout you privately retired to your own House, being favour'd by those who meant 25
that

that you should be safe, could you have
 had but Sense enough to have discerned it!
 O my vainly unerring prophetick Spirit!
 I told our brave Deliverers in the *Capitol*,
 5 when they desired me to go and exhort
 you to protect the State, that while you
 was under the Influence of Fear you would
 promise every thing ; but, that Influence re-
 mov'd, that you would return to your own
 10 Nature. Therefore, while the other Con-
 suls went to you and return'd, I was
 still fix'd in my Opinion; I did not see you
 all that and the following Day, as not believ-
 ing that any Coalition could be formed by any
 15 Ties, betwixt the best of Patriots and most in-
 veterate of Rebels. Three Days after I came
 to the Temple of *Tellus*, even against my Will,
 since the Avenues to it were block'd up by
 Soldiers under Arms. What a Day, *Mark*
 20 *Antony*, was that for you! Tho' all of a
 sudden you have commenc'd my Foe, yet
 do you move my Pity, in that you have
 thus become your own.

I M M O R T A L Gods! how good, how
 25 great a Man you might have been, could
 you

you have retained a just Sense of what
 pass'd on that Day ! We might have had
 a Peace that was sealed by a Hostage, a
 noble Youth, the Grandson of *Marcus Bam-*
balio. Tho' Fear, for a while, made you 5
 a worthy Citizen, yet the Restraint was but
 of a short Continuance. That Audacious-
 ness, which is your inseparable Attendant
 when you are not influenc'd by Fear, ren-
 dered you a Miscreant. And even at that 10
 Time, while you stood fairest in their Opi-
 nion, tho' I still dissented, like a Traitor
 as you was, you was Chief Mourner at the
 Funeral of the Tyrant, if a Funeral it can
 be called : Thine was his plausible Pane- 15
 gyrick ; thine the Pity that was express'd,
 and the Exhortation that was deliver'd.
 You, you, I say, kindled those Brands,
 those with which his Body was half con-
 sumed, and those which burnt down the 20
 House of *Lucius Belienus*. It was you who
 let loose upon us those desperate Ruffians,
 for the most part Slaves, whose Attacks we
 were forced to repell by Violence ; yet, as
 if your Foulness had been wiped off, the 25
 following Days you passed some noble
 De-

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Decrees of the Senate in the *Capitol*, that no Bill for a Favour should be affix'd on account of any Man after the Ides of *March*. You yourself mentioned the Exiles : You know what you talk'd about Immunities :
 5 But to crown all, you for ever abolished out of the Government the Office of Dictator. By this last Action it appear'd, that you had for an entire Aversion for Royalty, that you was resolved to take away all Apprehension
 10 of it, upon the account of the last Dictator.

To some the State of Affairs seem'd to be in Tranquillity ; but far different were my Thoughts : For while you sat at the Helm, I
 15 dreaded a general Wreck. Was I mistaken ? Or could he longer help his own Nature ? Bills were stuck up all over the *Capitol* in your Sight ; Immunities pass'd not only to single Persons, but to whole States. The
 20 Privileges of *Rome* were granted not only to Particulars, but to whole Provinces. Therefore, Fathers Conscript, if these Acts shall remain in Force, which could have no Force were our Constitution inviolate, you may bid
 25 adieu to all your Provinces. Not only your Revenues,

Revenues, but the whole System of *Roman* Power must sink by this domestick Venality.

WHERE is the 5,000,000 of Money, which was enter'd in the Books, and was in 5 the Temple of *Ops*? Fatal indeed were his Treasures. But provided they were not returned to their right Owners, they were sufficient to supply the Exigencies of State. But by what means could you, who on the Ides of *March* was 10 in Debt for above thirty thousand Pounds, pay it off clear before the first of *April*? Why should I mention an infinite Number of Journals and Notes? Innumerable indeed were the Favours which by your Connivance 15 were bought by different Hands; but one notable Decree was stuck up in the *Capitol* relating to *Dejotarus*, the firm Friend of the *Roman* People: A Measure which one, in the middle of their deepest Concern, could not 20 help laughing at. For was ever one Man more the Enemy of another, than *Cæsar* was of *Dejotarus*? As he was of this Order, of the *Roman* Knights, of the Inhabitants of *Mar-seilles*, and of all whose Passion was for the 25 Glory of the *Roman* Empire. *Dejotarus* there-

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therefore became the Favourite of a Man when dead, from whom when alive he neither, either present or absent, received the least Kindness, or the least Justice. While
 5 *Cæsar* was on Earth, he prosecuted *Dejotarus*, who entertain'd him at his Court; he fleeced him, he squeezed Money from him, he placed one of his *Greek* Attendants over his Dominions; he deprived him of
 10 *Armenia*, which had been granted him by the Senate; all this when alive he robb'd him of, when dead he restor'd.

BUT in what Expressions? Sometimes he
 15 says, *He thinks it reasonable, and sometimes not unreasonable*: A rare Jingle of Words! But *Cæsar* never said that any thing even appear'd reasonable to him, that we solicited for *Dejotarus*, for whose Interest I always
 20 appear'd in his Absence. A Note under his own Hand, for the Sum of above seventy eight thousand Pounds, was without my Knowledge, or the Knowledge of any of his other Friends, by the Deputies of *Dejotarus*,
 25 Men of Honour indeed, but without Experience, in his Seraglio, which was and still

is a Mart of Venality for many wicked Pur-
 poses. My Advice is, that you should con-
 sider well how you are to dispose of this
 Note; for that Prince, by his own Bravery
 and by his own Address, without having 5
 Recourse to any of *Cæsar's* Memorandums,
 as soon as he heard of his Death, recover'd
 his Estate. As he was a wise Man, he knew
 well that whatever Tyrants plundered from
 the lawful Possessors, the former Possessors, 10
 upon the Death of the Tyrant, have a Right
 to recover it. None of your Lawyers there-
 fore, not even that Fellow who is your sole
 Agent, and who advis'd you to this Step,
 pretend that you have a Title, by virtue of 15
 this Note, to any thing that was recover'd
 before it was granted; for he did not buy it of
 you, because he was in Possession of his Pro-
 perty before that Bargain was made. *Dejo-*
tarus acted as a Man, but we like despi- 20
 cable Sycophants, who ratify the Acts of the
 Tyrant we detest.

W H Y then need I to mention the end-
 less Memorandums, and the numberless 25
 Notes of Hand, which Forgers usually sell
 like

like Prize-fighting Bills? Hence it is, that such Heaps of Coin are piled up at his House, that it is not told, but weighed out. But how blind is Avarice! A Bill was lately
 5 stuck up, by which the most wealthy Cities of *Crete* were freed from their Taxes; and it is enacted, That that Island should never be a Province after the Expiration of the Proconsulate of *Marcus Brutus*. Art
 10 thou in thy Senses? Oughtest thou not to be bound? Can *Crete* be exempted after that Term, when *Brutus* had nothing to do with *Crete* while *Cæsar* was alive? But lest ye should think there is nothing in this, ye
 15 have lost the Province of *Crete* by the Venality of this Decree. Never did any Man buy aught that *Antony* is not ready to sell.

DID *Cæsar* too pass the Law relating to
 20 Exiles, which you stuck up? I insult no Man upon his Misfortune: Yet I complain, in the first place, that they whose Case *Cæsar* adjudged to be different, have been put upon a scandalous Footing as to
 25 their Return from Banishment. In the next place, I can see no Reason why you should
 not

not extend this Indulgence to all; for not above three or four are excepted. Why should not they, who are equally Partners in Calamity, be equally the Objects of your Compassion? Why should you treat these as if 5 each of them was your Uncle, whom you refused to pardon, when you pardoned others, whom however you prompted to stand for the Censorship, and for that purpose prepared a Petition, which at once raised the Laugh- 10 ter and Indignation of Mankind?

BUT why did you not hold that *Comitia*? Was it because a Tribune of the People informed you, that he had heard Thunder on 15 his left Hand, tho' Heaven never interests herself in what concerns you? But in what concerns your Relations, you are scrupulously religious. How! did you not desert him when he put in to be a *Septemvir*? But he 20 intruded. What was you afraid of? I suppose, lest you could not have denied him without exposing yourself. With all manner of Abuse you affronted the Man, whom, had you had the least Sense of your Duty, 25 you ought to have look'd upon as a second

Father. His Daughter, your Cousin, you drove away, having first look'd out, and bargain'd for another Match. That was not enough, you scandalously defamed a Woman of the strictest Virtue. Could you go farther? Yes, you was not even satisfied with that: In a full House of the Senate, where your Uncle was present on the first of *January*, you had the Impudence to say, That the Ground of your
 5 Difference with *Dolabella*, was, because you had discovered that he had debauched your Cousin and Wife. Who can say on this occasion which was most predominant, your Imprudence in the Senate, your Villainy a-
 10 gainst *Dolabella*, your Indecency in the Hearing of your Father, or your cruel Language against a misfortunate Lady?

BUT let us return to the Notes of Hand.
 20 Where then were your Proofs? For *Cæsar's* Acts were, for the sake of Peace, ratified by the Senate, at least all that *Cæsar* enacted, not all that *Antony* said he enacted. From whence are they issued? Upon what Autho-
 25 rity are they produc'd? If false, why are they valid? If genuine, why are they sold out?

out? But it was the Sense of the Senate, that from the first of *June* the Consuls should, with Assistants, take Cognizance of the Acts of *Cæsar*. But who were these Assistants? Whom did you ever summon? To what 5
Time did you put off the first of *June*? To the Time when having made a Circuit over all the Colonies of the Veterans, you returned to *Rome* guarded with an armed Force. How glorious was that Progress 10 during all the Months of *April* and *May*? Even when you attempted to introduce your *Capuan* Settlement, we know what a Retreat you made from thence, or rather what a Stay you had almost made. 15

You threaten *Capua*; I wish you would proceed so far, as that the *almost* I just now mentioned may be out of the Question. But how grand was that Procession of your's! 20
Need I to mention your sumptuous Entertainments, or your incessant hard Drinking? But that was your Loss, the other was our's. When the Territory of *Campania* was exempted from Taxes, that it might be di- 25
vided among the Soldiers, we thought it a

gross Violation of the Constitution. But you divided it amongst your Gamesters and Debauchees. Would you believe it, Fathers Conscript, that Actors and Actresses
 5 were settled upon the *Campanian* Territories? After that why should I complain of the Territory of *Leontium*? Yet both these Estates brought in a large and a plentiful Revenue to the publick Treasury of the
 10 *Roman* People. Three thousand Acres to a Physician, as if he could have made you found; and two thousand to a Rhetoric Master, as if he could have made you eloquent. But to return to your Journey, and to the
 15 Country of *Italy*.

You brought a Colony to settle at *Cassinum*, where *Cæsar* had settled one before. You consulted me indeed by Letters about
 20 the Affair of *Capua* (had you done the same with regard to *Cassinum*, I had return'd you the same Answer) Whether you lawfully could bring a new Colony to a Place where a Colony had been already settled. I deny'd,
 25 while a Colony which was settled by regular Auspices was unimpair'd, that any new Colony

Colony could be brought in; but I admitted, that new Planters might be added to the former. But you, insolently disregarding and violating all the Laws of Auspices, brought a Colony to *Cassinum*, where another had been a few Years before settled, that you might rear a Banner, and drive round a Plough, whose Share almost rubbed upon the Gate of *Capua*, that you might impair the Territory of a very flourishing Colony. 5 10

AFTER this Violation of what was sacred, you flew to the *Cassinian* Estate of *M. Varro*, a Man of the greatest Sanctity and Integrity. 15 By what Right? With what Front? The same, you will say, as those with which you dispossest the Heirs of *L. Rubrius*, and *Lucius Tursellius*, of their Estate, and got Possession of a great many more. You 20 bought *Varro's* Estate, you will say, at a Sale; let the Sale be legal, let the Bills be legal, I mean *Cæsar's* Bills, not your's; the Bills by which you are a Debtor, not those by which your Debt was paid. But who 25

can pretend that the *Cassian* Estate of *Varro* was sold? Who ever saw the Conditions of Sale? Who ever heard the Voice of the Auctioneer? You say you sent one
 5 to *Alexandria* to purchase it of *Cæsar*; because it would seem that it was too long to wait till *Cæsar* should come to *Rome*.

BUT who ever heard, tho' there was no
 10 Man in whom the Publick took greater Concern, that any Part of *Varro's* Estate was sequestred? Yet should it be prov'd, that *Cæsar* himself wrote to you, that you should refund it; what can the World say
 15 bad enough of such Impudence? Call off but for a little those Arms which are in our View; I will let you know the Difference betwixt *Cæsar's* Authority for ordering a Sale, and your audacious Impudence.
 20 For not only shall it be in the Power of *Varro* himself as Proprietor, but of any Friend, Neighbour, Guest, or Steward that he has, to drive you out of that Estate.

25 BUT for how many Days did you shamefully revel in that *Villa*? From the third
 Hour

Hour there was but one continued Round
of Drinking, Gaming and Vomiting ;
the very Gates were to be pitied :
What a Change of Masters was there ! But
how can he be call'd their Master ? Yet 5
how unlike is he to the Person whom he
dispossess'd ! For *Marcus Varro* meant that
this Seat should be a Retreat for Study, and
not a Haunt for Lewdness. In that Re-
tirement, before that time, how delightful 10
were the Conversations, the Reasonings, the
Writings upon the Constitution of the *Ro-*
man People, the Monuments of our Fa-
thers, and upon the Speculation and Practice
of Philosophy ! But during your Intrusion, 15
(for I will not call it Possession) the Walls
resounded with the Noise of Drunkards ; the
Pavements were delug'd ; the Walls were
stained with Wine ; Boys of liberal Birth
and Education were confounded with mer- 20
cenary Catamites, and Matrons with com-
mon Whores. People came from *Cassinum*,
Aquinum, *Interamna*, to pay you their Com-
pliments ; no body had Access. There you
was in the right ; for in a scandalous Fellow, 25
the Lustre of Badges of Dignity is tarnish'd.

IN his return to *Rome*, when he came to *Aquinum*, which is a populous Town, great numbers came out to meet him ; but
 5 he was carried in a Bier thro' the Streets as if he had been dead. The Inhabitants of *Aquinum* acted foolishly, if you will ; but what could they do ? They lived on the Road. But how can those of *Anagni*
 10 be excused who lived off the Road, yet came down, and pay'd him all the Compliments due to a real Consul. Who can believe it ? Yet by all Accounts he never returned one Salute, tho' he had in his Re-
 15 tinue two Inhabitants of *Anagni*, *Mustella* and *Laco* ; the first an excellent Fencer, the other an excellent Drinker. Why should I recount the Threatenings and Abuses he threw out against the *Sidicinians* ?
 20 He oppressed the Inhabitants of *Puteoli* for having put themselves under the Patronage of the *Bruti* and of *Cassius* ; from a strong Principle, from Affection, from Friendship and Love, not from Dread and Terror, as they
 25 were forc'd to follow you and *Basilus*,
 whom

whom no body would choofe as Clients,
much lefs as Patrons.

IN the mean time, during your Abfence,
what a glorious Day happen'd to your Col- 5
league, when in the *Forum* he demolifhed the
Burial Place which you ufed to worfhip !
Upon your hearing this News, we are told
by thofe who were in your Train, that you
was quite ftruck with Confternation. What 10
happened afterwards I know not ; I fup-
pofe Fear, and the Terror of Arms then
took Place. You difpoffefs'd your Colleague
of the Heaven of his Glory ; you render'd
him indeed not fo bad as *Antony*, but fure- 15
ly far unlike to *Dolabella*. But how did
you return to *Rome* ? What a Confternation
you ftruck in the whole City !

WE remember'd *Cinna* too powerful ; 20
Sylla afterwards domineering : We had juft
feen an End of *Cæfar*'s Reign. Thefe per-
haps poffefs'd Swords, but their Swords
were fheathed, and but few in Number.
But, on that Occafion, how deteftable, and 25
how numerous were the Barbarities exer-
cised !

cified ! Battalions of Soldiers, with their Swords in their Hands, attended them, and we saw Bucklers piled up in Litters carried along. But, Fathers Conscript, so frequent
 5 were these Objects, that our Senses grew quite callous on seeing them. On the first of *June*, when by Adjournment we attempted to meet in the Senate, struck with Fear, each of us fled.

10 BUT he who neither wanted nor desir'd any Senate, and who was rather glad at our Departure, immediately set about his strange and wonderful Operations. He who while he could gain by it had stood up for the
 15 Validity of *Cæsar's* Notes, disannulled *Cæsar's* Laws, tho' some of them excellent in themselves, that he might overthrow the Constitution. He prorogued the Number of Years, during which a Province could be
 20 held ; and the same Man who ought to have been a Champion for *Cæsar's* Acts, repeal'd them all, whether of a publick or private Nature. In publick Concerns nothing is more authentick than a Law ; in private
 25 nothing more binding than a Will. Some
 Laws

Laws he difannulled without any Promulgation, others he stuck up, that he might abrogate those already promulged. He difannulled a Will; a Deed that, amongst the lowest Rank of Citizens, is always valid. The 5 Statues and Pictures, which, together with his Gardens, *Cæsar* had bequeathed as a Legacy to the *Roman* People; these he carried off, partly to *Pompey's* Gardens, partly to *Scipio's Villa*. 10

ARE you then jealous of *Cæsar's* Memory? Do you love him even in Death? What greater Honour could he attain to while alive, than to have a Shrine, an 15 Image, a PAVILION, and a Priest? Therefore, as *Jove*, as *Mars*, as *Romulus* have their Priests, so is *Mark Antony* Priest to the deify'd *Cæsar*. Why do you stop here? Why are you not consecrated? Name your 20 Day: Look out for a proper Person to perform the Ceremony: We are Colleagues, no body will withstand it. Detestable Wretch! whether consider'd as the Priest of a Tyrant, or of a breathless Body. I 25 then demand of you, whether you know what

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what a Day this is? Are you ignorant that Yesterday was the fourth Day of the *Roman* Games in the *Circus*? That you yourself proposed a Law to the People, that a
 5 fifth Day should be reserv'd for *Cæsar*? Why then are we not in our proper Robes? Why do we now suffer an Honour to *Cæsar*, decreed by your Law, to be neglected? Do you, who have suffered that
 10 a Day should be profan'd by the Addition of Thanksgivings, refuse him Shrines? Either abolish your Superstition in every Respect, or preserve it in all.

15 You may perhaps demand of me whether I approve of a Shrine, a PAVILION, and a Priest? No, I am against them all. But you, who insist upon ratifying the Acts of *Cæsar*, how can you
 20 account for ratifying some, and neglecting others? Unless by owning that you made every Thing square with your Interest, not with his Dignity. What other Answer can you make? I am impatient to
 25 have a Specimen of your Oratorical Faculties. I know that your Grandfather was a
 Man

Man of great Eloquence ; but he never was
 so perspicuous a Speaker as you ; for he
 never harangued while he was naked.
 Your *plain Honesty* bar'd your very Bo-
 som to us. What ! no Answer to this ? 5
 Won't you so much as mouthe at one ?
 Is there nothing in all this long Oration
 which you hope you can answer ? But
 what is past I omit.

THIS very instant Day, in the single 10
 Moment of Time I am now speaking, ac-
 count for it if you can, why the Senate
 is environed with a Body of Soldiers un-
 der Arms ? Why are your Guards here
 present with Swords in their Hands ? Why 15
 are not the Doors of the Temple of *Concord*
 thrown open ? Why do you bring into the
Forum the *Ityræans*, a Race the most savage
 of all Mankind, with their Quivers and their
 Darts ? He answers me, that he does it 20
 to guard himself. Are not a thousand
 Deaths then preferable to your not being
 able to live in your own Country with-
 out a Guard of armed Soldiers ? But feeble
 and weak, believe me, is that Guard ; the 25
 Af-

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Affections, the Love of your Fellow-Citizens, and not your Arms, must be your Defence. These the *Roman* People will pluck out of your Hands, and I hope we
5 shall live to see it. But however you may dispose of us, believe me, when you follow such Counsellors, your Reign will be but short. For too long has thy generous Spouse (I mention her, I hope, with Decen-
10 cy) owed the third Debt she has to pay to the People of *Rome*. The *Romans* have still able Steersmen to place at the Helm of their Government. Thro' whatever Quar-
15 ters of the World they are dispers'd, with them remains the Safety of this State, or rather the State itself, which, tho' just aveng'd of her Wrongs, has not yet recover'd her Lustre. True it is, our Country has
20 Youths of the greatest Quality and Virtues, determined to defend her. However Conveniency may make it expedient for them to retire, yet the Distresses of their Country can recall them. Harmonious is the Name
25 of Peace, and *salutary* her Qualities; but wide is the Difference between Peace and

Servitude. Peace is the Tranquillity of Freedom; Slavery, the most detestable of Evils, is to be averted, not by Force only, but by Death. But tho' our brave Deliverers have withdrawn themselves from our 5 Eyes, yet have they left a glorious Precedent. They have done what no Man ever did before; *Brutus*, in the Field of Battle, fought *Tarquin*, who was a King, while Monarchy was agreeable to the Con- 10 stitution of *Rome*. *Spurius Cassius*, *Spurius Melius*, *Marcus Manlius*, were put to Death for incurring but a Suspicion of affecting Royalty. But our Deliverers have the Merit of being the first whose Swords 15 reach'd not the Affecter, but the Possessor of Regal Power; an Action which, as it was glorious, nay Divine in itself, so it is worthy our Imitation, since the Glory of its Authors is such, as that Heaven itself 20 seems too narrow to contain it. For tho' the Consciousness of performing an amiable Action is a sufficient Reward; yet in my Opinion Immortality ought to appear no despicable Prize to a Mortal. 25

CALL

CALL to mind therefore, *Mark Antony*, that glorious Day when you abolished the Dictatorship ; set in View the Transports of the Senate and the People of *Rome* ;
 5 oppose to these Objects the Bags hoarded up by Thee and Thine ; then wilt thou be sensible of the Difference betwixt Praise and Profit. But in vain : For as some People, benumbed and diseased, lose all Taste
 10 for the most savoury Food, thus the Lustful, the Covetous, the Guilty, never can taste the exalted Relish of true Glory. But if Glory has no Charms to reclaim you to your Duty, has Fear nothing to deter
 15 you from your miscreant Purposes ? You disregard all Judiciary Proceedings ; if this arises from a Consciousness of Innocence, I commend it ; if from the Insolence of Power, little are you sensible how much the Man
 20 has to dread who entertains such a Disregard. But if you are above dreading any thing from brave Men and worthy Citizens, whom by Means of your Arms you set at Defiance, as to any Attempt upon your Per-
 25 son ; yet, believe me, your own Creatures will

will not long endure you. What a Life is
it to be Day and Night in Alarms from
your own People, unless they are under
greater Obligations to you than any of *Cæ-*
sar's Destroyers were to him? But are you 5
in any respect to be compared with him?
He had Capacity, Sense, Memory, Learn-
ing, Foresight, Reflection, and Spirit. His
warlike Atchievements, tho' ruinous to his
Country, were glorious to himself. Through 10
inexpressible Toil, through numberless
Dangers, he laid a Scheme for a long Posses-
sion of Power: What he projected he per-
fected: With Presents, with Shows, with
Largeesses, with Entertainments, he sooth'd 15
the heedless Vulgar; by his Liberality he
oblig'd his Friends, and by a Semblance of
Clemency, his Enemies. In short, partly
with Fear, and partly by Patience, he 20
made the Habit of Slavery tolerable to a
free State.

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THE Lust of Power, I own, was indeed in common to you both, tho' in no other Respect can you admit of a Comparison with him. But from all the
 5 Misfortunes inflicted by him upon our Country this Advantage accrued, that the People of *Rome* have now learned how far any Man is to be believed; they have learned whom to trust, and whom to
 10 avoid. This gives you no Concern, nor do you dream that it is enough for the bravest of Men to have now learn'd how amiable in itself, how agreeable in the Consequences, and how glorious in its
 15 Report it is, to kill a Tyrant. Since they could not bear with a *Cæsar*, will they endure an *Antony*?

EAGERLY, believe me, will the
 20 World henceforward run into such an Enterprize; nor will they ever long wait for an Opportunity. Cast a considering Eye, *Mark Antony*, at last upon your Country. Reflect not on those with
 25 whom you live, but on whom you are de-

descended : However you may stand with
me, yet reconcile yourself to your Coun-
try. But of this you are the best Judge ;
one Thing for my own Part, I will
here openly declare. In my Youth I de- 5
fended my Country ; in my old Age I
will not abandon her. The Swords of
Cataline I despised, never shall I dread
yours. With Pleasure should I expose my
Person, if by my Blood the Liberties of 10
Rome could be immediately recover'd, and
the People of *Rome* could be deliver'd
from that painful Load they have been
so long in Labour of. For if twenty
Years ago in this very Temple I declar- 15
ed, that no Death could be untimely to
me, when Consular ; much more truly
can I declare the same now, that I am
an aged Man. To me, Fathers Con-
script, Death is even desirable, now 20
that I have performed all the Duties
which my Station and Character required.
Two Things only I now have to wish
for : The first (than which the Gods
themselves can bestow nothing on me 25

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more grateful) is, that I may leave *Rome*
in the Enjoyment of her Liberty: The
other, that the Reward of every Man
be proportioned to what he has deserved
5 of his Country.

FINIS.



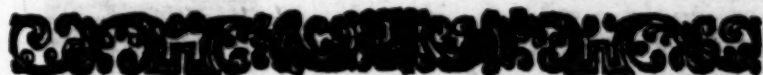


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EXPLANATORY
NOTES
To the foregoing
ORATIONS.

Notes on the first ORATION against
CATILINE.



AGE 3, Line 7. *Nocturnal Arms that watch the Palatium, the Guards of the City.*] The Romans had no standing Army at this Time, nor any regular Guards within the City; but on the Discovery of this Conspiracy, they had placed a strong Garrison in the *Palatium*, which was the highest Hill in *Rome*, and served as a Citadel; at the same Time they ordered several Parties to patrol through the Streets, under the Command of the *Ædiles*, and other inferior Magistrates, to prevent the Conspirators setting fire to the City in the Night.

P. 4. l. 29. *Scipio, when Sovereign Pontiff, as a private Roman.*] The Priests, and even the *Pontifex Maximus*, had no Power in civil Affairs, tho' they

Explanatory NOTES.

might be chosen *Prætors* or *Consuls*, as this *Scipio*, *Cæsar*, and several other Pontiffs were.

P. 4. l. 30. *Tiberius Gracchus*.] See Notes on the Oration for *Milo*.

P. 5. l. 6. *Servilius Ahala*---*Sp. Melius*.] When the City of *Rome* was afflicted with a great Famine, *Sp. Melius*, a *Roman Knight*, the richest Man in the City, bought up great Quantities of Corn throughout all *Tuscany*, and freely distributed it among the poorer Citizens: This gained their Affections, and encouraged *Melius* to aspire to the Sovereign Power. *T. Quintius Cincinnatus*, being named *Dictator* by the Senate to crush *Melius*, sent his General of the Horse, *Q. Servilius Ahala*, to summon him to appear at his Tribunal, to answer the Accusations brought against him. *Melius* refusing to come, and calling the Mob to his Assistance, *Servilius* run him through the Body, and thus stopped his ambitious Designs. This happened in the Year of *Rome* 314, which was three hundred and seventy-six Years before *Cicero's* Consulship.

Ibid. l. 15. *The Decree of the Senate*---*against you*.] The *Roman Consuls* had a very small Share of the executive Authority in their Hands; they were obliged, on every Occasion, to lay the Affair before the Senate, whose Orders they were obliged to execute. But on extraordinary Cases, the Senate made an Act, that the *Consuls* should take care that the *Commonwealth* might receive no Injury: By which Words they gave absolute Power to the *Consuls* to raise Armies, and do whatever they thought proper for the publick Interest, without having Recourse to the Senate's Advice. By this they were in Effect created *Dictators*; so that *Cicero* had at this Time sufficient Power to seize *Catiline* and his Accomplices, and try them, without calling a Senate; but he chose not to exert his Authority, to avoid the Odi-um which might be cast upon him, and for other Reasons, laid down in the Sequel of this Oration.

Ibid. l. 23. *Opimius*.] This was the *Consul*, who, when *C. Gracchus Tiberius*, following the Plan laid down by his Brother *T. Gracchus*, endeavoured to put in Execution the famous *Agrarian Law*, for an equal Division of the Lands, put him to Death.

Explanatory NOTES.

P. 3. l. 30. M. Fulvius.] This Man, tho' formerly a Consul, joined with *C. Gracchus* in his Attempt to divide the Lands, and was named one of the three Commissioners for that Purpose. They went on for some Time, carrying every Thing before them in the Assemblies of the People, in spite of the Senate, and all the Nobility. But one of the Consul's Lictors being killed by some of the Attendants of *Gracchus*, the Senate gave *Opimius* full Power to do as he thought best, for the Good of the State. The Consul commanded all the Nobility, with their Clients, to appear in Arms next Morning in the Forum, from whence he marched at their Head to attack *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, who had assembled several Thousands of the lower Rank on the *Aventine* Mount: The Affair came to Blows, and *Gracchus*, *Fulvius*, and his Sons were slain, with three thousand of their Followers, in the Year of the City 631.

P. 6. l. 5. Lucius Saturninus---Caius Servilius.] These two having killed a Senator in a Tumult, were declared Enemies by the Senate, who commanded *Marius* to bring them to Justice. The Consul, armed with dictatorial Power, attacked them in the Capitol, and obliged them to surrender with all their Followers; after which they were stoned to Death by the Mob, before they were brought to a Trial, in the Year 634.

Ibid. l. 8. *Yet for these twenty Days.*] Historians tell us, this Speech was made on the 18th Day after the Decree here mentioned; but the Orator calls it twenty Days in a round Number.

Ibid. l. 23. *Within Italy, upon the very Borders of Tuscany.*] *Catiline* had sent *C. Manlius* to raise an Army in *Tuscany*, while he minded their other Designs in *Rome*; such as the murdering *Cicero*, and firing the City.

P. 7. l. 1. *Should I now, at this Instant, Catiline, command thee to be seized.*] *Cicero* might have done this by the *Valerian* Law, made by *Valerius Poplicola*, immediately after the Expulsion of the Kings. For by this Law it was declared, that any Man might safely kill a Traitor without a Trial; provided he could afterwards make good his Accusation, and prove the Person slain to have been an Enemy to the Commonwealth.

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P. 8. l. 8. *I foretold in the Senate.*] *Cicero* had certain Intelligence of all *Catiline's* private Deliberations, by *Curius*, one of the Conspirators, whom *Fulvia*, a noted Courtezan, had persuaded to betray their Secrets.

P. 8. l. 29. *You attempted to surprize Prenceste.*] None of the Historians, who have left us the Account of *Catiline's* Conspiracy make any Mention of this Attempt; so that we know nothing of the Circumstances of it, more than *Cicero* here informs us.

P. 9. l. 22. *Some in this very Assembly, who were present at your Consultation.*] *Salust* reckons up ten Senators besides *Catiline*, who were concerned in this Conspiracy; of which Number is *Marcus Portius Lecca*.

P. 11. l. 19. *O Jove, the Stayer.*] The Romans being put to Flight in an Engagement with the *Sabines*, *Romulus* vowed a Temple to *Jupiter*, if he would stop their Flight, and save the Roman State; which happening, *Romulus* erected a Temple to *Jupiter*, with the Appellation of STATOR, or STAYER.

Ibid. l. 28. *Before I entered upon the executive Part, &c.*] The Consuls were usually chosen six Months before they entered on their Office, during which Time they were called *Consules Designati*, *Consuls Electi*.

P. 12. l. 13. *The last Election of Consuls, &c.*] *Catiline* had not only stood Candidate when *Cicero* was elected, but also offered himself a Candidate at the next Election, where *Cicero* presided. Being disappointed in both by the Vigilance and Interest of *Cicero*, he laid a Plot to murder him in the Field of Election.

P. 13. l. 6. *This is not your Doom, &c.*] Had *Cicero*, by the Sovereign Authority with which he was then armed, absolutely pronounced a Sentence of Banishment against *Catiline*, the Conspirators might justly have reproached him for banishing a Man on bare Suspicions, before any certain Proofs were brought of his Guilt. But the Consul advises *Catiline* to a voluntary Banishment, by this Means to avoid a severer Punishment, which would certainly be inflicted on him, when the Consul pleased to bring the Affair to a Trial; since, by the former Part of this Oration, *Catiline* might plainly see that all his Plot, with the most minute Circumstances, was discovered. Tho' at the same Time we must here observe, that a Sentence of Banishment was seldom
seldom

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seldom or never pronounced against any *Roman*; there being no Law which punished any Crime with Exile. The usual Punishment was a pecuniary Mulct; they were condemned to pay a Sum of Money, in Proportion to the Greatness of their Crime. If they refused to pay this, or were not able to pay it, they went into a voluntary Exile.

P. 13. l. 14. *Is there a damestick Stain, &c.*] He is said to have murdered his Brother; debauched his own Daughter; and was suspected to have murdered his Wife and Son, to make Way for *Aurelia Orestilla*, whom he then loved. Besides his Intrigues with several Ladies of Quality, he debauched a *Vestal Virgin*, a Priestess of the most sacred Order among the *Romans*. In a Word, his whole Life was one continued Scene of Villany and Debauchery.

Ibid. l. 23. *Lusts unsupply'd from thy Corruption.*] He furnished young Men with Money to carry on their wicked Designs, that by rendering them odious to their Parents, and all good Men, he might attach them to his own Party, and make them proper Instruments for whatever Villany he should undertake.

Ibid. l. 26. *After your former Wife died, &c.*] See the last Note but one.

P. 14. l. 8. *That impending Ruin of all your Fortunes, &c.*] *Catiline* had borrowed Money from Time to Time to support his vast Expences; and without doubt his Creditors had advanced him fresh Sums to enable him to stand for the Consulship, which might put him in a Condition to pay them with Usury: But being now twice disappointed, and his Designs discovered, he had no longer any Reason to expect more Money, or any Mercy from them. The Term was the 13th of *November*, and this Oration was delivered on the 7th or 8th, so that he had but a very few Days Respite.

Ibid. l. 22. *The last Day of December, &c.*] This relates to a former Conspiracy, in which *Catiline* was concerned. In the Year of *Rome* 687, when *Lepidus* and *Tullus* were Consuls, *P. Antroni* and *Publius Sylla* were elected Consuls for the ensuing Year; but being convicted of Bribery, they were deposed, and two others elected in their stead. To revenge this Affront, *Antroni* conspired with *Piso*, *Catiline*, and several

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others, to murder the Consuls on the last Day of *December*, in the publick Assembly of the People, to whom they usually made a Speech on the laying down their Office. The Plot not being sufficiently ripe, was that Day put off to the 5th of *February*; when it was again disappointed by the Eagerness of *Catiline*, who gave the Signal before all the Conspirators were assembled. This was well known to the Senate; but there being no positive Proof, *Cicero* only mentions *Catiline's* having a Sword in the *Comitium*, which was contrary to Law.

P. 14. l. 24. *Comitium*.] Any Place where the Assembly of the People was held.

P. 17. l. 17. *The Murder of many Romans, &c.*] *Catiline* with his own Hands killed several Noblemen, who were proscribed by *Sylla*; and secretly murdered many, who opposed his wicked Designs; and had false Witnesses ready on all Occasions, to swear whatever he desired. This made him a common Refuge for all Murderers, whom he protected to the utmost of his Power. He was accused, and tried for the Murders he committed in the Time of *Sylla's* Reign; but was acquitted by the Interest of the Nobility.

Ibid. l. 19. *The oppressive Hand that plunder'd my Allies, &c.*] After his Prætorship, he was made Governor of *Africa*, which he miserably oppressed and plundered. He was impeached for this on his Return by *Clodius*, and, as was thought, got off by bribing his Accuser.

P. 18. l. 24. *M. Marcellus, your Companion*.] This is not the *Marcellus*, whom *Cicero* commends a little lower: This *Marcellus* was an intimate Friend of *Catiline*, and probably a Conspirator; the Praises *Cicero* here gives him are spoke in Irony. The *Marcellus* mentioned in the next Page, is he whom *Cicero* defended in that excellent Oration, *For Marcellus*. See Vol. I.

P. 20. l. 11. *These Roman Knights, &c.*] It had been once proposed to the Conspirators, to murder the Senate at once in the Senate-House; to prevent this, the *Roman Knights* were ordered to Arms, and kept Guard round the Temple, where the Senate assembled. These Knights would have dispatched *Catiline*, upon the least Sign from *Cicero*.

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P. 21. l. 21. *Depart directly into Banishment.*] Had *Catiline* retired to some distant Country, without joining *Manlius*, and the other Conspirators; this would have convinced the Vulgar, that he had been innocent, and accused by *Cicero* from a personal Quarrel.

P. 22. l. 14. *That silver Eagle.*] The *Eagle*, from about the Time of *C. Marius*, was the great Standard of the Roman Armies; each Legion had one. This *Eagle* is said to have been the same which *Marius* had in the War with the *Cimbri*.

P. 22. l. 15. *The domestick Shrine of all thy Impieties.*] The Roman Standards, and especially the *Eagle*, were in a Manner worshipped by the Soldiers: They swore by them. This *Eagle* therefore had been religiously kept by *Catiline*, and had been sent down to *Manlius*, as the principal Banner of the Conspiracy.

P. 25. l. 2. *Persons uninvested with publick Authority, &c.*] See Note on p. 7. l. 1.

P. 26. l. 22. *But some there are in this Assembly, &c.*] *Cæsar*, *Crassus*, and others of the first Rank, were suspected of being concerned in *Catiline's* Conspiracy, and of wishing that it might succeed. These were cunning enough not to be present at the Meetings of the Body of the Conspirators, lest they should be discovered; but they served *Catiline*, by maintaining that the whole Conspiracy was a *Chimæra* of the Consul's Brain, or at most a Design to be revenged on *Cicero*, for disappointing *Catiline* so often in his standing for the Consulship.

P. 27. l. 2. *Regal Manner.*] The Romans had such an Aversion to the *Kingly* Government, that *King* and *cruel Tyrant* were Expressions of the same Signification in their Language. To avoid this Odium, *Sylla*, *Cæsar*, *Augustus*, &c. reigned absolutely under the Titles of perpetual Dictator, *Imperator*, or any Title, except that of *King*.

P. 29. l. 1. *Begone with Omens such as these, &c.*] The Heathens superstitiously observed whatever was said on their undertaking a Journey, or any Enterprize. Some of the greatest Men have laid aside an Undertaking, or been encouraged in the Pursuit of it, by a Word dropped by Chance. All the Roman Historians, particularly *Livy*, are full of this ridiculous Conceit. This solemn Imprecation therefore, pronounced by the Consul, in the
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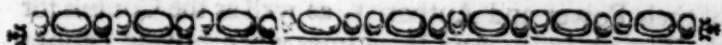
Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, was like the highest Excommunication, and would be constructed a bad Omen to *Catiline* by all those of his Audience, who had any Regard for the Religion of their Country.

Ibid. l. 9. *Whom we rightly call the Stay of this City, &c.]* See the Note on p. 11. l. 19.



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Notes on the second ORATION against CATILINE.

PAGE 34. l. 12. *The Practice of our Ancestors, &c.*] The Romans were so jealous of their Liberties, that a Suspicion of attempting a Change was often fatal to the Party suspected. The *Gracchi, Sempronius, Fulvius, &c.* were slain for attempting an equal Division of the conquered Lands. *Manlius Capitolinus, Sp. Melius,* and others, were put to Death, upon circumstantial, and even slight Proofs. *Scipio* was driven to Banishment after all his glorious Services. In a Word, Popularity, and Ability to disturb the State, was often punished with as great Rigour by the Romans, as a real Attempt on their Liberties could have been.

P. 35. l. 19. *How important are the Persons, &c.*] This seems to have an Eye to *Cæsar* and *Crassus*, at that Time two of the principal Noblemen of Rome; who certainly favoured *Catiline*.

P. 36. l. 16. *I can here point out the Man to whom Apulia, &c.*] *Salust* tells us, that *Catiline*, some time before, had sent *Manlius* to *Fæfulæ*, and the adjoining Parts of *Tuscany*; *Septimius Camers* to *Ancona*, and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*, to make Levies. But *Cicero* seems here to mean some Persons of greater Note, yet in Rome, who were to command in chief in those Countries, whose Names are not left us by any Historians, except that *Marcus Cæparius* is said, in the third Oration against *Catiline*, to have been named to raise the Shepherds in *Apulia*.

P. 36. l. 20. *Who claimed the Task of betraying our Citizens to the Sword, &c.*] *Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius,* and *Cassius*, undertook to fire the City, and murder their fiercest Enemies; particularly *Cethegus* promised to dispatch *Cicero*; and even offered, with a small Force, to attack the Senate House, and cut off all the Senate at once.

P. 42. l. 13. *The Axes, the Badges of Authority.*] When the Consuls, on the Expiration of their Office, went to their Governments, they were allowed to carry before

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before them the Bundles of Rods and Axes, as Ensigns of their Power and Authority, as well as the Consuls for the Time being. And sometimes when private Persons were sent Governors into Provinces, they were likewise allowed to carry these Badges of Authority. These *Catiline* usurped, and entered the Camp of *Manlius* with all the State of a Consul.

P. 45. l. 26. *A Bill of Insolvency.*] The Romans were often obliged to pass a general Bill, by which all the Debts were abolished; sometimes Creditors were obliged to accept of a third, or a fourth Part in full of all Demands. The Expectation of this from *Catiline* drew over Multitudes of the lower Sort to his Party; or at least, made them wish him Success.

Ibid. l. 29. *A Bill of Sale.*] By which the Estates of the Debtors were put to Sale to satisfy their Creditors.

P. 46. l. 11. *More Danger from their Prayers than from their Arms.*] That is, they wish for a Change in the Constitution; they wish for a Bill of Insolvency; but will not give themselves any Trouble to bring it about.

P. 47. l. 14. *The Colonies which Sylla planted at Fæfulæ.*] The Romans usually rewarded the veteran Soldiers with Houses and Lands in the conquered Countries. *Sylla* divided the Lands round *Fæfulæ* among his Soldiers, and advanced some of them to the Equestrian, and even to the Senatorian Rank.

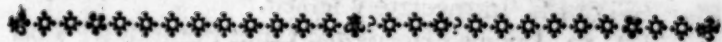
P. 49. l. 20. *In flowing Robes, and wearing Mantles instead of Gowns.*] It was a Mark of Effeminacy among the Romans to wear their Gowns loose and flowing. To have them made narrow, and girt tight, was reckoned the distinguishing Mark of an active Man, ready for Business.

P. 53. l. 11. *The Gate is without a Guard, &c.*] That is, though I have placed Guards to prevent the Attempts of the Conspirators, I have given no Orders to stop any single Person from going out.

P. 54. l. 2. *Without my laying aside these peaceful Robes.*] The Consuls, before their setting out on any military Expedition, used to put off their Gowns, and put on their military Dress, with great Ceremony and publick Sacrifices. *Cicero* tells them, his Scheme for the suppressing the Conspiracy, was so well laid, that without changing his Gown, the Dress of Peace, he would quell all the Disturbance.

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Notes on the third ORATION against CATILINE.

PAGE 61. l. 1. *Lentulus.*] This *Lentulus* had been *Prætor* and *Consul* before this Time, but was expelled the Senate by the *Censors*. To recover the Senatorian Dignity, he was obliged to put in for being *Prætor* a second Time, during which *Prætorship*, he was put to Death for this Conspiracy.

Ibid. l. 1. *Lentulus tampering with the Commissioners of the Allobroges.*] These were *Gauls*, who, passing the *Alps*, settled on the *Italian Side*, in those Parts now called *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. They were a brave People, and maintained a War with the *Romans* for a long Time; but before this had been totally subdued, and governed by the *Roman Prætor*, who had the Care of *Gallia Narbonensis*. About the Time of the breaking out of this Conspiracy, they had sent *Embassadors* to *Rome*, to complain of the Oppression and Extortion of their Governor. *Lentulus* took this Opportunity of increasing the Strength of the Conspiracy, by promising the *Allobroges* an Abatement of their Taxes, if they would rise in Favour of *Catiline*, and assist him with their Forces. The *Embassadors*, after some Deliberation, resolved to discover the Affair to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, their Patron at *Rome*, who immediately disclosed it to *Cicero*. The *Consul* advised them to agree with the Conspirators, and get a Covenant from them signed by the principal Men, to carry home to their Constituents. This the Conspirators consent to, and at the same Time desire them to take *Catiline's* Camp in their Way; for which Purpose they send one of their Party *Vulturtrus*, along with them, with Letters to their General. *Cicero* getting notice of this from the *Embassadors*, took the whole Party

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Party Prisoners upon the Road, and by this Means had full Proof against *Lentulus*, and the other Heads of the Plot, whom he immediately seized.

Ibid. l. 19. *Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pomtinus.*] This *Flaccus* is the same; in whose Defence *Cicero*, some Years after, made the Oration For *Flaccus*; in which he mentions this Piece of Service to the *Roman* State. We know nothing of the other but what is here mentioned.

Ibid. l. 26. *The Milvian Bridge.*] This was a Bridge over the *Tiber* about two Miles from *Rome*, on the Road to *Tuscany*.

P. 62. l. 3. *The Prefecture of Reate.*] The *Prefectures* were such Towns as had Markets every ninth Day, and *Affizes* held there by *Prefects* sent annually from *Rome*.

Ibid. l. 7. *The third Watch being almost spent.*] The *Romans* divided the Night into four Watches, beginning at Sun-setting, and ending at Sun-rising, so that the third Watch began exactly at Midnight, and ended about three in the Morning, supposing the Sun to rise at six.

P. 65. l. 10. *The Saturnalia.*] Before the Regulation of the *Roman* Calendar, the Feast in Honour of *Saturn* was celebrated about the 16th of *December*.

P. 65. l. 16. *I shewed his own Seal---I cut the Thread, &c.*] The *Romans* rolled up their Letters, and then tied them with a Thread, on the Knot of which they put their Seal, which was the distinguishing Mark to know from whom the Letters came.

P. 66. l. 10. *Your illustrious Grandfather.*] *L. Cornelius Lentulus Rufus*, Consul in the Year of *Rome* 598.

P. 68. l. 26. *Their Determination is not yet engross'd.*] The Decrees of the Senate were hung up in the Temple of *Saturn*, where the People might read them, they were then engross'd into the Body of their Laws.

P. 69. l. 10. *My brave Colleague.*] *C. Antonius*, who was suspected of favouring *Catiline's* Party, because he was very much in Debt, and personally acquainted with *Catiline*. However, *Cicero* had gained him over, by giving him the Command of the Armies, which gave him an Opportunity of making Money, and contented himself with the Government of *Rome*; whereas usually the

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the Consuls drew Lots to know who of them should command abroad, and who at home.

P 69. l. 15. *The Prætorship.*] The Prætors were originally elected to assist the Consuls, and to be chief Judges in the City, when the Consuls should be both abroad with the Armies. At first there was only one; afterwards, as the Empire increased, there were four, six, and sometimes eight chosen annually. One was called *Prætor Urbanus*, whose Business was to hear all Causes in the City. The others were sent by the Consuls, or by the People, to different Parts of the Empire, where the Consuls could not go in Person. After the Expiration of their Office, they were named Governors of some Province for a Year or more, as the People thought fit.

Ibid. l. 16. *Delivered into Custody.*] They were at first only committed to private Houses under the Care of some trusty Senator, who was answerable for his Prisoner.

Ibid. l. 19. *The like upon Lucius Cassius, &c.*] *Cassius*, *Caparius*, and the others after mentioned, were condemned in their Absence, they having escaped before the Consul could apprehend them. But *Caparius* was overtaken in his Flight, and committed.

P. 71. l. 8. *Caius Glaucia*] or *Glaucias*.

P. 73. l. 18. *Those nocturnal Effulgences, &c.*] The Romans were extremely superstitious in observing Omens and Presages, which were always interpreted by their Priests and Augurs. Of this the Nobility were so sensible, that they kept all the different Offices of the Priesthood in their own Body; even after the Plebeians were admitted to the Consulship. All these Omens were explained so as to answer the Purposes of the Senate.

P. 78. l. 8. *Sylla destroyed Publius Sulpitius.*] *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the People, in concert with *Marius*, got a Law past to take away from *Sylla* the Command of the Army designed for the *Mithridatick* War, and to give it to *Marius*. Upon this *Sylla* brought up his Army to *Rome*, overthrew *Sulpitius*, and proscribed twelve; and among them *Marius* and *Sulpitius*. *Sulpitius* was taken and put to Death, but *Marius* escaped to *Africa*.

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P. 78. l. 9. *Marius the Guardian of Rome.*] He was so called, because he defeated the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, who invaded *Italy* with an Army of several hundred thousand Men.

Ibid. l. 12. *Cneius Octavius.*] *Cinna* endeavoured to restore *Marius's* Party, upon the Departure of *Sylla*, but was driven out of the City by his Colleague *Octavius*.

Ibid. l. 15. *Cinna and Marius.*] *Cinna* gathered an Army, and with *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, entered *Rome*, and murdered or proscribed all the Senators and Nobles of *Sylla's* Party.

Ibid. l. 19. *Sylla afterwards avenged himself.*] He is said to have put to Death ninety Senators, of which fifteen had been Consuls, 2,600 Knights, and 70,000 Citizens in cold Blood; besides those slain in Battle.

Ibid. l. 23. *Marcus Lepidus had a Difference, &c.*] After the Death of *Sylla*, *Marcus Emilius Lepidus* endeavoured to restore the Party of *Marius*; and for this End raised an Army in his Province of *Gaul*, advanced to *Rome*, and engaged *Q. Catullus* in the *Campus Martius*; but was defeated, and obliged to fly into *Sardinia*, where he died.

P. 80. l. 1. *No Badge of Distinction, no Monument of Glory.*] The *Romans* rewarded their Generals with Triumphs, Statues, and Surnames taken from their Services: These *Cicero* disdains.

Ibid. l. 20. *One who fixed the Limits of your Empire.*] *Pompey the Great*, who at this Time was carrying on the War against the *Arabians*, and other Nations in the East.

P. 81. l. 5. *Mine may never prove detrimental to me.*] *Cicero* saw plainly that there were many Noblemen who favoured the Party of *Catiline*, who might afterwards revenge the Defeat of their Scheme on *Cicero*. This afterwards happened, and *Cicero* was banished, but restored in a little Time to his former Honours.

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Notes on the fourth ORATION against CATILINE.

PAGE 86. Line 5. *Lentulus, deluded by Fortune-tellers.*] See p. 64. l. 21.

Ibid. 86. l. 11. *Think on yourselves, &c. — forbear your Tenderness and Concern for me.*] The Romans very seldom condemned any free Citizen to Death. They were often allowed to go into Banishment, which was reckoned a Sort of Death, as it deprived them of all their Privileges. The Consuls or Dictators, and sometimes private Men, slew the Ringleaders of a Tumult; but it was only winked at, as a Thing necessary on some Emergencies, rather than lawful. Every free Citizen had the Liberty of an Appeal from the Senate to the People. *Cicero* very well knew that all the Odium of putting the Conspirators to Death would certainly fall upon him, as he was Consul, and the most active Person in quelling the Conspiracy. For this Reason, he avoids declaring himself openly for *Silanus's* Opinion, but at the same Time desires them to deliver their Opinions freely, without having any Regard to what might befall him afterwards. For every Act of the Senate, or People, was always ascribed to that Person who summoned the Assembly; as he alone presided, and put the Question: So that the Odium of putting the Conspirators to Death, tho' voted by the Senate, would as certainly fall upon *Cicero*, as if he had done it without their Advice. This really was the Case, and he was afterwards banished for passing this very Decree.

Ibid. l. 27. *Affectionate Brother.*] 2. *Cicero*, a very brave Man, and good Soldier.

P. 87. l. 4. *Son-in-Law.*] *C. Calpurnius Piso* was at this Time married to *Tullia*, *Cicero's* Daughter.

P. 88. l. 1. *Slaves spirited up.*] At first *Catiline* rejected the Slaves, trusting to the Strength of the Conspirators; but finding his Army increase slowly, he in-

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vited the Slaves to join with him, by promising them Liberty and Plunder.

P. 90. l. 2. *The other of Caius Cæsar.*] *Cæsar* proposed perpetual Imprisonment in the Free Towns of *Italy*: His Speech is extant, or at least the Substance of it, in *Salust*. This, with his former Behaviour, made him be looked upon as a Well-wisher to the Conspiracy; so that the Knights, who kept Guard round the Senate-House, threatened to kill him, as he came out of the House; and some say, they would have done it, if *Cicero* had not protected him, and carried him home with him. *Cæsar* was so frightened at this, that he never came abroad till he entered upon his Office of Prætor the ensuing Year.

P. 92. l. 26. *A certain Gentleman--is now absent.*] We have no Light from History, who this Person was.

P. 93. l. 13. *The Sempronian Law.*] This Law was proposed by *C. Sempronius Gracchus*, and had its Name from the Person who proposed it, as most other Laws had. It decreed, that no *Roman* Citizen, should be condemned to Death by any Judge, or even by the Senate, but only by the Assembly of the People: And frequently this Sentence of Death was allowed to be exchanged for Banishment, which the old *Romans* thought a sufficient Punishment for any Crime, how great soever.

P. 94. l. 9. *Give me a Companion to the Assembly, who is dear and agreeable to the Roman People.*] After the Senate had decreed any Thing extraordinary, it was usual for the Person who proposed the Decree, or him who had the chief Hand in promoting it, to give an Account of the Affair to the People from the *Rostrum*, with a Defence of the Senate's Conduct. This was something more than Matter of mere Compliment, since the People could reverse any Decree of the Senate. *Cicero* therefore tells them, that if *Cæsar's* Opinion was followed, it would be of great Service to him, in getting such a Person as *Cæsar* to appear with him in the Assembly of the People; for *Cæsar* even at this Time was very popular, and was by his Largesses laying a Foundation for that Height of Power, to which he afterwards raised himself.

P. 96. l. 5. *Settle the Allobroges upon the Ruins, &c.*] *Catiline's* Party had made no such Agreement with the
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Allobroges; they had only promised an Abatement, or perhaps a total Abolition of all their Taxes, provided they would assist the Conspirators with their Horse; in which they were reckoned to excel all other Nations. But *Cicero*, like a true Orator, represents every thing in the blackest Light, to inspire the Senators with Revenge. Indeed it is hard to say, what might have been the Consequences of *Catiline's* obtaining a Victory, by the Assistance of the *Gaulish* Horse; or how far the *Allobroges* might have improved that Opportunity to the Ruin of both Parties.

P. 96. l. 15. *Suspect Lucius Cæsar---of Cruelty, when he declared that the Husband of his Sister, &c.*] *Lucius Cæsar* was Uncle to *C. Julius Cæsar* the Dictator, and Grandson of *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*. [See Note on p. 5. l. 29.] His Sister *Julia*, Widow of *Marcus Antonius Criticus*, was at this Time married to *P. Lentulus* the Conspirator.

Ibid. l. 24. *And that his Son, &c.*] One of the Sons of *Flaccus* was sent by his Father as an Ambassador to *Opimius* the Consul, to propose an Accommodation; but was sent back by *Opimius*, with severe Threatenings, if he should dare to return with any Proposal besides that of an immediate Surrender. The Son returning to the Consul with other Proposals, was seized, and, after the Defeat of his Party, was put to Death by the Consul's Orders, though but eighteen Years old.

Ibid. l. 21. *A Spirit of Corruption.*] The Tribunes of the People were endeavouring to ingross all the Power of the State, by pushing the Execution of the *Agrarian Law*.

P. 98. l. 29. *After a Difference of many Years.*] The *Sempronian Law* had admitted the Judges to be chosen out of the Knights; but *L. Sylla* again restored it to the Senators only. *Aurelius Cotta*, a few Years before this, had again admitted the Knights to this Privilege. This had occasioned a Difference between the two Orders for almost a Century: But in the Affair of *Catiline* they were both agreed. N. B. *Though we translate the Word Judices by Judges, yet it answers more nearly to our Jurors in the English Constitution; they being appointed by the Prætor to examine the Circumstances of the Cause, to hear*

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the Witnesses, and to pass Sentence only in the Words prescribed by the Prætor. That is, the Prætor declared, that the Indictment being proved, the Party should be punished in such a Manner: Then the Judices examined the Witnesses, and heard the Pleadings on both Sides, and afterwards condemned, or acquitted the Party.

P. 99. l. 11. *The Tribunes of the Treasury.*] These were Officers under the Quæstors, employed in receiving and distributing the publick Money.

Ibid. l. 15. *Not intent upon their private Interest, &c.*] The old *Scholiast* here observes, that the Clerks were assembled to divide among themselves the Offices for the ensuing Year; viz. who should be Secretary to the Consuls, who to the Prætors, &c. This was annually done, and, like the other Offices at Rome, usually determined by Lot. — They seem to have been a Sort of incorporated Society.

P. 100. l. 15. *A certain infamous Tool of Lentulus, &c.*] Some of his Clients endeavoured to raise a Mob, in order to set *Lentulus* and his Fellows at Liberty; but were disappointed in their Endeavours by the Diligence of the Consul, and the Number of the Guards.

P. 101. l. 23. *Domestic Images---Fire of Vesta.*] The Romans superstitiously preserved some Images of their *Penates*, the Guardian Deities of their City, which were said to have been brought from *Troy* by *Æneas*; and particularly the sacred Fire, which was always kept burning by Priestesses appointed for that Purpose.

P. 102. l. 22. *Which ought to lead in Matters of Government.*] It was the Consul's Business more immediately to provide for the Safety of the State, and to apply himself to this, and this alone, during his Year. Besides, *Cicero* had summoned this Meeting of the Senate, and it might be expected that he should give his Opinion concerning the Prisoners; but this he cautiously avoids doing in express Words, though it may easily be perceived which Way he inclined.

P. 103. l. 11. *That Pride of living, &c.*] i. e. No Man ever attained to such Honour as that to which you have raised me by your Decree.

Ibid. l. 16. *All Honour to Scipio, &c.*] This was *Africanus* the Elder, who after driving the *Carthaginians* out of all Spain, invaded *Africa*, and obliged the *Carthaginians*

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ginians to recal *Hannibal* out of *Italy*, where he had harrassed the *Romans* for sixteen Years.

Ibid. l. 24. *Lucius Paulus*.] He conquered *Macedon*, and led *Perseus* the King in Triumph.

P. 106. l. 7. *Fanes and Temples*.] The *Fana* were little Chapels dedicated to the inferior Deities, or Heroes:

This Oration was followed by a *Decree of the Senate*, that the *Conspirators* should be put to *Death*; which was executed the same Night in the publick Prison.



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Notes on the ORATION for M. CÆLIUS.

THIS Cause was tried before *Cneius Domitius Calvinus* the Prætor, who called to his Assistance a certain Number of the Knights or Senators, to assist him in the Trial. These *Cicero* calls the Judges, and frequently addresses himself to them; tho' they seem to answer more properly to our Jury, since they were only Judges of the Fact, the Prætor himself determining the Point of Law. These Judges often heard Causes without the Prætor's being present; but the Sentence was always given in his Name, and in his Words.

Cicero manages this Cause with the greatest Art: He could not refuse *Cælius's* Familiarity with *Clodia*; it was too well known to be denied. He excuses it, by representing *Cælius* as a forward, brisk Youth, adorned with all the good Qualities that usually prognosticate a great Man; but unguarded and amorous; too headstrong in some Cases, and trusting too much to his Parts. At the same Time he paints *Clodia* in the most villainous Colours; as a notorious Prostitute, burning with insatiable Lust, and capable of the greatest Crimes. He insinuates that she had murdered her Husband *Q. Metellus Celer*, and lived in avowed Incest with her Brother *Clodius*: That the Judges might pity *Cælius* for having ever been ensnared by her; and believe her capable of doing any Thing, in Revenge for his quitting her.---The other Crimes laid to *Cælius's* Charge, viz. his Want of Affection to his Father, his being concerned in the Murder of the Ambassadors, his being Partner in *Catiine's* Conspiracy, and his Attempt to poison *Clodia*, &c. all these he fully refutes, by the strongest Arguments, which he occasionally strengthens by positive Evidence in Favour of his Client.

Cælius was acquitted, and was afterwards Prætor in the Time of the Civil Wars betwixt *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. But disturbing the Peace of the City by some new Laws,

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he was deposed by the Senate, and obliged to leave *Rome*. Afterwards joining with *Milo*, and attempting to gain over *Cæsar's* Garrison at *Thurii* to declare for *Pompey*, he was slain.

P. 108. l. 9. *The only one tried in this Festival Season.*] The *Romans* never tried any Causes on their Holidays, till the Year of *Rome* 676, in the Consulship of *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *Q. Lutatius Catulus*, when *Publius Plautius*, Tribune of the People, proposed a Law, to allow Courts to sit in the Holidays, for trying such Criminals as were accused of Treason against the State. This Law was passed by the Assistance of *Lutatius Catulus* the Consul, and is called sometimes the *Lutatian*, sometimes the *Plautian* Law, from the Names of those two Persons principally concerned in the passing of it. This might justly alarm the Spectators, and give Occasion to Persons unacquainted with the Story, to suppose that there was some Plot discovered, or some new Sedition attempted. The *Plaintiffs* seem to have got this Cause tried in the Holidays, by inserting in the Accusation, that *Cælius* was concerned in *Catiline's* Conspiracy, and his murdering the *Alexandrian* Ambassadors, both which were Crimes immediately against the State.

P. 109. l. 13. *Accused by a Man, whose Father, &c.*] *Cælius* had some Time before accused *L. Atratinus* of Bribery, of which he was acquitted; and had now again brought him to a new Trial, which Affair was in Dependence at the Time of this Speech. *L. Atratinus* the Son, was the principal Accuser of *Cælius*.

Ibid. l. 17. *The Interest of a Strumpet.*] *Clodia*, Sister of *P. Clodius*, formerly beloved by *Cælius*, now used all her Interest to have him condemned, in Revenge for his quitting her.

Ibid. l. 28. *Have the least Hopes of Success, but from, &c.*] He would insinuate that *Clodia* was known to be such a Monster, as would stick at nothing to promote her Revenge; but was ready to swear any Thing herself, and bribe others to do the same.

P. 110. l. 8. *If from the Hope of Success, to Youth.*] If *Atratinus* thought it possible to cast *Cælius* from such
slen-

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flender Proofs, it was owing to his being unacquainted with the Laws, and the Customs of the Courts.

P. III. l. 8. *That he is the Son of a Roman Knight, &c.*] The Accusers certainly had never made this a Part of the Accusation, that he was Son of a Knight; but if we may be allowed to guess, it is probable they might have said, that he lived extravagantly, and spent great Sums of Money, tho' he was only the Son of a Knight: For it was necessary to be worth a certain Sum of Money, in order to be ranked amongst the Knights, and so much more to be ranked among the *Senators*. Thus the Censors frequently struck out of the List of Senators, or Knights, such Persons as were found not to have a sufficient Estate, to qualify them for that Rank. This Accusation therefore, of *Cælius's* spending more Money than could be supported by a Person of his Rank, might be turned by *Cicero's* Art into a Reflection on the Rank itself.

Ibid. l. 11. *You were to judge, &c.*] By this it would seem, that all, or the greatest Part, of the Judges were Knights; as *Cicero* himself was the Son of a Knight: For the Knights, after being excluded for several Years, were restored to their Privilege of being appointed Judges with the Senators, by a Law passed by *Lucius Cotta*, in the first Consulship of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, in the Year of *Rome* 684.

Ibid. l. 113. *What you have advanced against his filial Duty, &c.*] The Roman Law gave to Parents an absolute Power over their Children, even that of Life and Death. *Cicero* therefore justly observes, that we might have our own private Reflections on a Son's Behaviour to his Parent, but could not try him for it, unless the Father himself accused the Son: He was the most proper Judge to determine when the Son transgressed the Laws of filial Reverence.

Ibid. l. 28. *Enrolled him into the highest Order.*] The Towns called *Municipia*, *Free Towns*, were such Towns as had received the Freedom of *Rome*, had a Vote in all the Assemblies of the Roman People, when they pleased to come to *Rome*: At the same Time they had Power to make *By-Laws*, for the better governing their own Corporation: They had a little Senate, which they called *Curia*, and the Senators were called *Decuriones*.

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riores. They had also two Magistrates annually elected, under the Name of *Duumviri*.

P. 112. l. 17. *But that I may apply, &c.*] This is one of the greatest Faults of this Orator. He was so full of himself, that he never made any Speech without sounding his own Praise.

P. 115. l. 4. *Gave him the manly Gown.*] At the Age of Sixteen, the *Romans* made their Sons change their Dress: They no longer dressed in the Habit usual for Boys, but put on the full Gown. This was done with great Ceremony. They were then reckoned of Age to serve in the Army.

P. 116. l. 7. *Did he ever appear in Court for him, &c.*] When any Person was accused, all his Friends and Acquaintance attended him in Mourning, to solicit in his Behalf, and to shew how much he was beloved.

P. 116. l. 10. *Cælius never appeared for me.*] The Candidates for any Office were attended to the Place of Election by all their Relations, Clients, and Acquaintances. *Cælius* therefore appearing with *Cicero*, when *Catiline* set up against him, shewed that he had a greater Regard for him than for his Rival.

Ibid. l. 15. *He favoured Catiline, who again stood.*] As *Cicero* could not deny, that *Cælius* appeared for *Catiline*, upon his standing for the Consulship a second Time, he wisely passes it over in a few Words, lest it should make an Impression on the Judges; but insists more largely on those Points which made for his Client.

Ibid. l. 18. *A whole Year was allotted, &c.*] The first Year after taking the Gown, was usually spent in learning their Exercises in the *Campus Martius*. There the Youth practised Fencing, Running, Leaping, &c. to strengthen their Bodies, and to qualify themselves for serving in the Army, which every one did for several Years before he could stand for any Office at *Rome*.

P. 117. l. 14. *Catiline possess'd.*] *Cicero* here gives *Catiline* his just Character, as it is drawn by *Sallust*, and other Historians; and represents his good Qualities in the best Light, to excuse *Cælius* for having been drawn into a Familiarity with him.

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P. 120. l. 11. *If Cælius had been accessory, &c.*] I'm afraid *Cicero's* Argument here is not conclusive. He asserts, that *Cælius* could not be guilty of such Crimes, because he had impeached others for the same Crimes. This is often done, and is by no Means a Proof of Innocence to wise Men, however it may blind the Vulgar.

P. 121. l. 11. *His Books of Accounts that are now demanded.*] The Censors of *Rome* were chiefly employed in restraining Luxury: They could demand an Account of any Man's Expences. It is probable, by this Passage, that upon an Accusation, the Prætor might do the same. *Cicero* very well knew that his Client had been extravagant, and therefore wards off this Blow, by putting them in Mind, that *Cælius's* Father was yet alive, and that of Consequence *Cælius* had no Occasion to keep any regular Account of his Expences; it being supposed, that he had no Money, but what was furnished him by his Father.

Ibid. l. 29. *Obtained a Victory, &c.*] *Cælius* accused *Caius Antonius*, *Cicero's* Collegue in the Consulship, of Treason, and cast him; so that he was obliged to go into Banishment. This was an Honour to *Cælius*, but a Grief to *Cicero*, as he loved *Antonius*, and defended him in the Trial. This might puff up a young Man like *Cælius*, and make him hope to raise himself by his Eloquence at the Bar; to attend which more closely, he removed from his Father's House, and hired *Clodius's* House in the *Palatium*. Thus *Cicero* tells the Story; tho' it is more than probable, that it was to carry on his Amour with *Clodia*, that made him chuse that Neighbourhood.

P. 122. l. 15. *I wish that never, &c.*] These are supposed to be some Fragments of the Poet *Ennius*, the Humour of which we cannot rightly judge of, for want of the whole Passage. The last Part concerning *Medea* evidently alludes to *Clodia*, as the Author of this Prosecution.

P. 123. l. 7. *The Pontifical Elections.*] The Assembly for electing either the *Pontifex Maximus*, the High-Priest, or some of the inferior Orders. I shall only here observe that the sacred Officers were not excluded from any civil Office. *C. Julius Cæsar* at that Time
was

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was High-Priest; and *Cicero* was of the College of *Augurs*.

P. 123. l. 12. *Make Complaints rather than seek for Redress.*] i. e. why he chose to go about murmuring, rather than bring an Action directly against him.

Ibid. l. 24. *A Rivulet of your Accusation.*] *Cicero* seems to insinuate that they were capable of the meanest Tricks to procure Witnesses; and that he would be careful to search into the Characters of every Witness they should produce, to see if they were bribed.

Ibid. l. 26. *A Charge supported by so much Popularity.*] This is said in Derision, and not in Earnest.

P. 124. l. 20. *Those Gentlemen.*] The Accusers, viz. *Herennius*, *Bassus*, and *Atratinus* the Younger.

Ibid. l. 25. *When provok'd they fight.*] This seems to refer to *Atratinus* the Accuser, who gladly embraced this Opportunity of accusing *Cælius*, in Revenge of his accusing *Atratinus* the Father. It has no Relation to *Duelling*, a Custom unknown among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and a pernicious Remain of the Barbarity of the *Goths*, by whom it was brought in Fashion.

P. 129. l. 1. *In the Lupercal Games.*] The *Lupercalia* were Games instituted in Honour of *Pan*. They that celebrated them, used to run naked up and down the Streets, and were called *Luperci*. They had, it seems, an odd savage Custom of exposing one another's Faults, and even professed, that every Member of their Society acted consistently with the Rules of their Institution, when he endeavoured to blacken a Brother *Lupercus*.

Ibid. l. 9. *Afraid that People should not know.*] The Words in the Original in some Editions run, *Si quis id forte nesciat timere videatur*; in others, *Si id forte nesciat timere videantur*; in others, *Si id forte nesciat temere videantur*: And *Abramius* prefers the following Reading to all the others, *Ut ne quis id forte nesciat timere videantur*; which, according to him, makes the Sense of the Passage this: 'They boast of their being Members of the Fraternity when they accuse, as if they were afraid lest any one should not discover them to belong to it.'

Ibid. l. 17. *Publius Clodius.*] This is a very humorous Picture of an over-heated Speaker, whose Words generally fall ineffectual to the Ground.

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P. 130. l. 2. The *Baii* was the celebrated Retirement of the *Roman* People of Fashion at certain Seasons. It was famous for Springs of warm Water, where they used to bathe: In short, in every Thing it so much resembled our *Bath*, that it may be very properly translated *Bath*, were it not that it would give a Translation too modern an Air.

P. 131. l. 8. *Stimulate your Severity.*] There is in the Original somewhat so exquisitely humourfome, and at the same Time so delicate, that it is next to impossible to preserve the Beauty of the Author, and not to offend the Chastity of the Reader.

P. 132. l. 19. *Praise, Principle, and Rise.*] In the Original the Words are, *Certum, Nomen, & Caput*; about the true Meaning of which, among the *Romans*, Criticks and Commentators have made such a Pother; but without minding what they have advanced on that Head, I have translated them in that Way which I thought made *Cicero* speak the best Sense.

Ibid. l. 21. *There was a Necessity for Gold.*] It is very probable that this Gold was in Plate and Jewels, which *Cælius* had receiv'd for an immediate Occasion to be returned to *Clodia*; otherwise *Cicero* would have spoke of the Loan not by the Word *Sumpsisset*, but *Credidisset*, or *Mutuo dedisset*.

P. 133. l. 13. *The Mother of a Family.*] Among the *Romans* the Words *Mater Familias* and *Matrona* were used promiscuously, to signify a Lady of chaste Reputation, whether a Wife or a Widow. We have many Instances in the *Roman* Laws and History, how much they were honoured both in publick and private.

Ibid. l. 24. *That Lady's Husband.*] This is a very severe Sneer of *Cicero*, such as would be suffered in no modern Court of Law without a Reprimand. But we are to consider, that our Orator often took very great Liberties, and that the Character of *Clodius* justified him in taking a greater Liberty here than usual.

P. 134. l. 1. *But let me first ask herself.*] This beautiful *Apostrophe* is, perhaps, as artful as any Thing we meet with in *Cicero's* Writings. We may easily imagine what an Effect the Contrast must have had upon the Minds of the Audience, betwixt a Woman of an infamous Life, and her Ancestors of the greatest Reputation

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tation and Purity; whose Statues were in the very Court where our Orator was pleading. This Figure requires the most delicate Touches of Art, to work it properly up, as *Cicero* has done here.

Ibid. Not such a smock-faced Gentleman---but these Bristle-beards.] I hope this Passage will not appear too ludicrous, when the ingenious Reader shall compare it with the Original, which really conveys a ridiculous enough Idea. *Excitandus est*, says he, *aliquis mihi ex inferis,---ex BARBATICIS illis*, pointing, as we may suppose, to the Statue, which was furnish'd with a plentiful Crop of Hair; *non hac barbula*, pointing to *Clodius*, who was a fine Beau. We may here observe, that in the Time of *Appius Cæcus*, which was in the Year of Rome 640, the Romans did not use to shave their Beards. But we may conjecture, from a Passage of *Livy*, that they used to shave them about the Year 370. *Vide Lib. VI.* where he says, *Satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum & barbam promississe.* "It is plain, says he, that a great Part of the People chang'd their Apparel, and that many suffered their Hair and Beards to grow." Therefore, as *Lipshius* observes, if in Times of publick Calamity Beards were suffered to grow, it is evident that at other Times they were shaved.

P. 135. l. 1. *Hast thou not heard that thy Uncle, thy Grandfather, thy Great-Grandfather, and his Father, were Consuls.*] How moving must this have been, in an Assembly to which the Memories of all these great Men were dear? There were few more illustrious Families in Rome than that of which this Lady was descended.

Ibid. l. 4. Quintus Metellus.] This was one of the finest Gentlemen in Rome, and a Man of great Quality: *Cicero* cannot help, however, throwing an oblique Reflection here upon him, that it may the more strongly affect *Clodia*; for he insinuates, that while he was within Doors, he was little better than any other of her quiet Husbands. However, it is very probable that the Ignominy of being a Cuckold was not near so great then as it is now.

Ibid. l. 13. The Bosom Friend of thy Husband.] The Antients carried their Notions of Friendship very far;
so

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so far sometimes as to lose Sight of the *Husband*, in preserving the Character of the Friend. Not to mention the famous Instance of *Cato*; *Plutarch*, in his conjugal Precepts, lays it down as a Maxim, that a Wife ought to have no private Friendships, but to treat all her Husband's Friends as her own.

P. 135. l. 19. *Quinta Clodia*.] This was the Lady who gave a very extraordinary Proof of her Chastity, by pulling a Ship with her Girdle up the River, while it stuck fast in the Strand, and could not be moved by all the Force that was applied.

Ibid. l. 23. *That Vestal Virgin, who embracing her Father, prevented his being torn from his Car*.] There is somewhat in this Story, that to a Modern seems ridiculous and improbable. We are told in the Story of this Fact, "That the General, who was Father (*Suetonius* says Brother) to this Lady, entered in a triumphant Manner, without any Decree of the People, and against the Will of the Tribunes, into *Rome*; but that she found Means to jump into the Chariot, and by sitting along with her Father all the Time, till he got to the Capitol, prevented his being torn from his triumphal Car." But this is easily reconciled to Probability, by reflecting upon the prodigious Regard that was paid among the *Romans* to Vestal Virgins, who, as such, had a Right to all the Privileges of Matrons. Among their other Privileges, they had that of never being removed by the Magistrates out of their Seat in any publick Assembly; and this probably, with the vast Regard paid to her as Priestess, was the Reason why the Tribune was obliged to suffer her quietly to go along.

P. 136. l. 1. *Did I tear my Country from the Thoughts of a Peace with Pyrrhus*.] This is a noted Story, and became proverbial. See the first *Philippic*. The Fact was, that this old Man, tho' blind, was carried into the Senate-House, where he dissuaded the Senate from accepting the Offers of Peace proposed by *Cineas*, the Minister of *Pyrrhus*.

Ibid. l. 7. *Did I lay a Road*.] This was the famous *Via Appia*, which is still to be seen entire, except in those Parts which have been ruined by Earthquakes.

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P. 137. l. 4. *To be brought into the Forum.*] Because there her Person was exposed to Insults on Account of her infamous Character.

Ibid. l. 21. *Little Master as he is with his elder Sister.*] I am very sensible that to a Reader of Taste, who has not the Original before his Eye, this Passage may appear too much moderniz'd. But I will venture to say, that the Words cannot be translated otherwise; that if *Cicero* had been to speak this Passage in *English*, he would have used the same Expression. The Original is *Pusio cum majore sorore*. There is indeed an Infinnuation conveyed by the Word *Pusio*, which I neither chuse to express, nor is it necessary that it should be expressed.

P. 138. l. 18. *Cæcilius's passionate unrelenting Sire.*] This *Cæcilius* was a Comic Poet, and dealt very much in Characters of the grave and morose Kind.

P. 141. l. 9. *The Camilli, the Fabricii, the Curii.*] *Camillus*, when drawn into Exile by his Countrymen, succoured his ungrateful native Country, when *Rome* was seized by the *Gauls*, and the Capitol besieged. *Fabricius* refused Money, when offered him by *Pyræhus*, and was so excessively poor, that by a Decree of the Senate, he was buried at the Charges of the Publick. *Curius* triumphed over the *Samnites*, and distributed to every one of the People four Acres of Ground; chusing only so many to himself, because he thought these were sufficient for any one.

Ibid. l. 22. *These very learned Philosophers.*] He here means the *Stoicks*.

Ibid. l. 30. *Some of the Sages.*] These were the *Epicureans*.

P. 142. l. 4. *Others have thought.*] He here has in his Eye one *Callipho*.

Ibid. l. 10. *Are now left almost.*] And deservedly, says *Manutius*, for having taught that those Pleasures which charm the Soul are to be abstained from, *Æliani Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 32.* "When one *Callistus*, a
"Strumpet, said to *Socrates*, I, O *Socrates*, am greater
"than you; you can deprive me of none of my Gal-
"lants, but I, if I have a Mind, can deprive you of all
"your Scholars. You are in the Right, replied *Socra-*
"tes, for you lead aside People into a Declivity, but
"I force

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“ I force them to ascend to Virtue ; the Way to which
“ is steep, and trod by few.”

P. 144. l. 12. *Any brave and honourable Man.*] He, perhaps, here means *Catulus* and *Cæsar* ; whose Youths were stained with Vices, but who, in advanced Years, were famous for the opposite Virtues.

P. 145. l. 3. *Lusts of the Belly and the Palate.*] Among the Lusts of the Palate the Antients reckoned Drinking. This was an Excess in which they were still more indulgent to old Men than the Moderns are ; nay, from some of their Writings, one would be apt to imagine, that they thought Drinking an inseparable Companion to old Age. *Plutarch*, in his *Apophthegms*, brings in *Antipater* saying, that *Deniades* the Orator, when he grew old, compared himself to a *Victim which was consumed all to the Tongue and the Belly*. *Plato*, tho' he is absolutely against young Men indulging themselves in Wine, yet he is for allowing old Men to go so far as *even to forget their Cares, and endeavour to thaw their Blood into a florid Youthfulness*. See *De Leg.* ii. And one of *Plutarch's* *Symposian* Questions is, *Why do old Men love Wine?* The divine *Homer* has kept up this Character in *Nestor*, in a very humourfome Line :

Νέστορα δ' ὣκ' ἔλαθεν ἰαχὴ πίνοντα περ ἔμπης.

Which *Ausonius* translates,

Concussit quamvis potantem Nestora clamor.

P. 146. l. 5. *Do you imagine, &c.*] *Cicero* every where takes Occasion to extol the Dignity, and exaggerate the Difficulty of his Art. Several Instances of this the Reader has already had, in the Orations against *Cæcilius*, and for *Archias* the Poet. And indeed we can easily conceive, not only from the Beauty of his, but of other Orations of Antiquity, that the Study of Eloquence was one of the most difficult, both with Regard to the Exercise of the Body and the Mind. It was the Decay, therefore, of the Severity of Manners, that ruined this Art ; for under the Emperors a quite different Manner prevailed. But for this see the Preface to this Translation.

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P. 146. l. 7. *On this Parade.*] *Hac Acie*, says my Author.

P. 147. l. 1. *Capital Danger.*] By this our Author does not mean the Danger of his Life. For among the *Romans*, several Punishments besides that of Death were capital, such as Banishment, Fines, Branding; therefore *Cicero* means, that if he had failed in his Proof, he was liable to have been convicted in an Action of Calumny, the Punishment for which, by the *Roman* Law, was what they called Capital.

Ibid. l. 7. *Do the Waters whisper, &c.*] This is a very ingenious Allusion of our Author; and in the Manner in which we may suppose he pronounced it, it must have had a great Effect upon the Audience.

Ibid. l. 16. *Simple Fornication.*] This Expression, I own, seems too modernized; a Fault I have still been careful to avoid; but if the Reader will consider the Original, which is *Meretriciis amoribus*, I hope he will pardon it. As to the Morality comprehended in the general Doctrine of this Oration, I shall leave it to be answered by the other Passages of our Author's Writings, after putting him in Mind, that *Cicero* here talks as a Counsel in a Cause very interesting for himself; and therefore we may presume that he advanced a great many Things on that Occasion, which he would not upon any other; and which he would have confuted, had they been urged by a Party opposite to his Interest.

P. 148. l. 3. *The Order of Whores.*] This I have translated literally. The Original is *Palamque sese in meretricia vita collocarit*. To understand this rightly, it may be necessary to inform the Reader, that a Woman who had a Mind to enter into this Order, was obliged by Law and Custom, to profess or declare her Intention before the *Ædiles*. After they had done that, they might take Money. It is very probable that the Ceremony of this Profession was fixed to a certain Day of the Year, and that several previous Acts of Devotion were required; such as paying their Vows to *Venus*, &c.

*Aphrodisia hodie Veneris est festus dies;
Oratum ierunt deam ut esset sibi propitia.*

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P. 148. l. 14. *Insolent in Lewdness.*] The Original is *non solum meretrix, sed etiam procax.*

Ibid. l. 21. *I now forget my Wrongs.*] Our Author was fully conscious what a great personal Authority he had in all Courts, and how disadvantageous it was for his Antagonist to be thought to entertain any personal Spite at him: Therefore he never fails to bring in his own Character, in his Pleadings, as often as he can, to influence the Judgment of the Court. As to the Spite which the *Clodian* Family bore him, see his *Oration for his own House*, and his *Familiar Epistles*, ii. lib. 14.

P. 149. l. 19. *The Shelves and Shallows of my Speech.*] By this he means the delicate Subject which he had to handle, in extenuating the Gallantry of a young Gentleman, not over-famous for Chastity; and exposing the Character of a great Lady, infamous for Lewdness.

P. 150. l. 19. *Plundering Venus.*] The Statue of *Venus* appears, from many Passages of the Antients, to have been an indispensable Piece of Furniture in the Closets of Ladies of Pleasure; and it commonly was very finely set out with Jewels. For one of these Ladies to ask for a Jewel for her *Venus*, from her Gallant, was a genteel Way of asking for a *Consideration* to herself. *Clodia's Venus* seems to have been particularly rich.

Ibid. l. 22. *Hospitable Roof.*] Because the House was open to all Strangers.

P. 152. l. 15. *Lucius Luceius.*] *Cicero* enlarges vastly in this Oration, and indeed in all his others, upon personal Characters. If all the Characters he has drawn in this be just, there never appeared any Thing more ridiculous and unconnected than this Charge against *Cælius*.

P. 153. l. 17. *Read the Evidence.*] The Reader is desired to take notice, that among the *Romans* written Evidence, tho' ever so well attested, was not of equal Authority with *oral*. And indeed, if we had the Speeches made upon this Occasion against *Cicero*, we would probably find this Circumstance strongly urged against him.

P. 154. l. 5. *Heard Herennius own.*] This alludes to the Affair of *Polla*, a Friend of *Herennius*, whom *Cæ-*

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lius had accused. From this, and a great many other Passages of the History of that Time, we may see, how frequent Accusations upon Corruption were amongst the *Romans*; so that there was scarce any Man who succeeded in his Solicitations for an Office, who escaped that Charge.

P. 155. l. 19. *For that is a material Circumstance.*] We find by this Passage, which contains a very sensible Reflection, in what Awe the *Romans* stood even of their Slaves, who by their Mistresses were greatly indulged, for fear they should divulge their Intrigues, and other Wickednesses; and indeed it holds true in all Countries, as well as in *Rome*, that Servants, to whom their Masters intrust their secret Vices, cease to be Servants, and commence Masters and Tyrants. This was an Observation made likewise by *Juvenal*, Sat. III. in these Words:

Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius, &c.

And again;

*Nil tibi se debere putat nil conferet unquam
Participem qui te secreti fecit honesti.*

Plutarch, in his Thoughts on the Education of Children, has these Words: "Those who are plunged in Vice, dare not take the Liberty of reprehending their Servants, much less their Children." *St. Jerom* has the same Thought, when writing to *Salvina*, concerning the Continuance in a State of Widowhood: "I know, says he, that many who live very retiredly, have not escaped Infamy on Account of their Servants; who were suspected, either for the Sake of their rich Drefs, their being corpulent and too blooming, their being of an Age fit for the Purposes of Lust; or lastly, their discovering an overgrown Arrogance, from a secret Consciousness of their being beloved, as we commonly say, *underhand*, which when most artfully dissembled, frequently breaks forth in Instances of Disdain and Contempt towards their Fellow-Servants." In Houses, on the other Hand, where the Laws, Chastity, and Moderation are observed,

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observed, Servants are less indulged, and Masters less beloved; for, as the same Author writes to *Furia*, where sacred Chastity reigns, there Frugality is to be found. But where Frugality is, there the Profits of Servants are small; for whatever they don't get, they think taken from them; neither do they consider how much their Master's Income is, but how much they themselves receive. *Juvenal*, in his 9th Satire, has placed this Matter in a very noble and striking Light.

————— *Sed prodere malunt*
Arcanum quam subrepti patare Salerni
Pro populo faciens quantum Lausella bibebat
Vivendum recte, tum propter plurima, tum de his
Præcipue causis, ut linguas mancipiorum
Contemnas. Nam lingua mali pessima servi,
Deterior tamen hic, qui liber non erit illis.

He had formerly taken notice of something of the same Nature in the Servants of his Time, in his 3d Satire, in these Words:

Scire valunt secreta domus, atque inde timeri.

Lisias to *Areopagiticus* speaks thus on the same Subject, πᾶς ἕκαστος, &c. “ what then! should I not be of all
 “ Mortals the most miserable, if I was no longer to
 “ treat my Servants as Servants, but to make them
 “ my Masters, thro’ the remaining Part of my Life, by
 “ letting them into Secrets of this Kind; and thus by
 “ putting myself out of a Capacity, if they should
 “ offend me, of punishing the Offence.”

P. 156. l. 17. *Whence was it got.*] The Whole of this Passage is an Imitation of that remarkable Part of his Oration for *Cluentius*, *Quod autem tempus veneni dandi in illo die! in illa frequentia, per quem porro datum! unde sumptum! quæ deinde interceptio poculi! cur non de integro autem datum. Multa sunt quæ dici possunt, sed non committam ut videar non dicendo voluisse dicere res enim jam se ipsa defendet.* “ But on that Day,
 “ where was the Time proper for administering the
 “ Poison? or where the Possibility of doing it before
 “ so large a Company? Besides, by whom was it
 “ given?

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“ given? or from what Hand was it got? Where, in fine,
 “ is the Probability of the Cup’s being intercepted? If
 “ it was so, why was it not administered afresh? Ma-
 “ ny Things might be said; but I shall not by Silence
 “ insinuate that I inclined to say them: No, the Af-
 “ fair is of such a Nature as to speak for itself. I
 cannot help observing on this Occasion, that it is an
 easy Matter to discover what Parts of *Cicero’s* Works
 appeared most beautiful to himself; for these he is so
 vastly fond of, that he either repeats them precisely in
 the same Words, or else imitates them so closely, that
 there is scarce a Possibility of distinguishing the one
 from the other. Hence a Man may justly conclude his
 own Taste good, if he is pleased with such Passages
 in *Cicero*, as are either by him repeated in the same
 Words, or with little Variation.

P. 156. l. 21. *Its Efficacy was tried upon a Slave.*] The Art of Poisoning is perhaps the only destructive one, not improved and refined upon by this Age. The Antients were greater Masters of it than we, with all the Pains we take, have Skill enough to be; we see here the making it a Study, and barbarously trying its Experiments upon the human Frame, was not uncommon. The *Persians* however, and the *Egyptians*, were still more expert at it than the *Greeks*; and, if we may believe some latter Historians, the *Italian* Ladies of the last two Ages, particularly some of the Family of *Medicis*, were more ingenious in this Art than them all.

Ibid. l. 28. *I drunk that Draught.*] This is an Allusion carried on with regard to the Poison, and in a beautiful Figure. *Cicero* has here touched the true Pathetic, and thrown it into a fine Contrast with a ridiculous Story.

P. 157. l. 3. *Who thought himself born for this Empire.*] This might have been more clearly expressed, by translating it, *for the Good of this Empire*. The Original has it, *Qui se natum huic Imperio putavit*.

P. 158. l. 21. *The Senian Baths.*] The *Senian*, or the *Xenian* Baths were used by Strangers.

P. 160. l. 2. *Truck’d her Farthing Hire with the Bag-
 nio-keeper.*] There are in History a great many Keys to this Passage. One is, that *Clodia* was bilk’d by a young Fellow, who put her off with Farthings instead of Pieces

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Pieces of Gold, and hence she was nicknamed *Quadrantaria*. But as the Original has *Quadrantaria Permutatione*, it would appear, as I have here translated it, to allude to the *Bagnio-keeper* trucking his Hire, which was a *Quadrans*, or a Farthing for every one who used his Bath, for her's, which was the same for every one who used her Body. This makes the Sense clear and consistent, and the Satire extremely cutting.

P. 157. l. 20. *They lurked in a Bagnio.*] This was very mean among the *Romans*, and presents us now with a very humorous Description of the Absurdity and Folly of the Charge against *Cælius*.

P. 161. l. 8. *Old female Dabbler in poetical Chimeras.*] The Original has it, *Verum hæc tota fabella veteris & plurimarum fabularum poetriæ. A Poetria*; was a female Dabbler in Poetry, who knew just so much of it as served to expose her Ignorance in Company. But *Cicero* here applies the Character of *Clodia*, her adopting the ridiculous Inconsistence of poetic Conceits to a Plot, by which the Liberty of a *Roman Gentleman* was to be affected.

P. 162. l. 23. *Of a Farce, and not a Comedy.*] In the Original, *Mimi ergo est jam exitus non fabulæ*. The *Mimus* was a kind of *Harlequinade*, expressive of very indecent Postures. They were generally acted extempore, and gave Rise to the *Italian Harlequins*, whose Scenes were originally all acted extempore, as indeed all their Comedies were. In the *Mimus* there was no Manner of Connection or Plot; nothing hung together, and as soon as the Players were out of their Part, or their Humour run aground, then the *Harlequin*, or the principal Actor, who was generally a very active nimble Fellow, took to his Heels, and the rest going off in Pursuit of him, left the Stage clear. This therefore was a very happy Comparison, which *Cicero* here falls upon.

Ibid. l. 25. *The Castanets.*] In the Original it is, *Scabilla concrepant*. These *Scabilla* were a Kind of wooden Castenets, which was the Signal for the Scenes being closed.

Ibid. l. 26. *The Curtain.*] The *Romans* had a Curtain too in their Plays, which run across the Stage.

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P. 163. l. 18. *Witnesses.*] *Cicero's* Argument here, after proving, as before, the Absurdity of the Whole, is extremely conclusive. If, says he, the Whole of this Affair is void of all Probability; full of gross Contradictions and Inconsistencies, it is in vain to support it by oral Proof; for no Witness can make such a Cause the better, by swearing to a Fact that is absolutely not only improbable but contradictory; such a Witness may convince one that he himself is perjured, but not that the Fact is true.

P. 164. l. 1. *Trojan Horse.*] This is another beautiful and happy Allusion of our Author's, by glancing on the Character of *Clodia*, as if resembling that of *Helen*, and comparing the Whole to the Story of the *Trojan Horse*.

P. 164. l. 12. *And as witty as they please.*] This is a just and beautiful Picture of Nature, in all Ages and Countries, where the Thoughtless and Unheeding, in Affairs of great Consequence, are very useless; but very diverting over a Bottle, or at an Entertainment. *Cicero* does not blame them for this Character; but if they want Sense and Wit, he addresses them not to want Humanity and Good-nature likewise.

P. 166. l. 19. *A Law carried.*] This was the *Lex Plautia de vi*; which comprehended all Riots, and all Attacks upon the public Peace.

Ibid. l. 20. *Catulus.*] It was *Catulus* who was Consul when this Law was passed; but it having passed after great Opposition, it was called after the Name of *Quintus Plautius*, the Tribune of the People, who brought it in.

P. 167. l. 2. *Camurcus and Cæcernus.*] It is plain that these two Men had been condemned by the Statute against Riots, for being accessory to the Murder of the *Alexandrian* Envoys.

There is likewise great Reason to believe, that they were two infamous Instruments, employed by *Clodia*, for violating the Chastity of one *Vettius*, who obstinately refusing to gratify her criminal Desires, incurred her Displeasure and fierce Resentment.

Ibid. l. 16. *Old idle Story.*] In the Original it is, *Afrania Fabula*. Commentators have a great many Conjectures upon this Passage: The Principal are, That

it

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it alludes to one *Affranus* a Poet, who dealt much in Obscenities, but had a good deal of Wit. Others, that it alludes to *Caia Affrania*, a Woman famous for her Impudence, and a Dabbler in Poetry. We are told by *Valerius Maximus*, that she was Wife to *Lucinius Bructio*; that she never was out of Law Scrapes, but that she always pleaded her own Cause before the *Prætor*, which she did with so loud a Loquaciousness, that her Name became proverbial, especially in the *Forum*. She must have been a very notable Woman, for she lived to a good old Age, and, as we understand, retained her loquacious Talent to the last.

P. 168. l. 6. *Honour, &c.*] The original Passage here, may be well worth the Reader's Consideration, as it will serve to fix in his Mind the determined Sense of certain Words, which every where occur in our Author; and which, without due Attention, appear to be synonymous. The Expression in the Original, is, *Ad honorem, gloriam, dignitatem*. *Honor*, in this Passage, and all similar Passages in our Author, signifies an external Mark of Respect paid to an Object, by bowing the Knee, the Head, &c. *Laus* implies a secret Respect, which is not expressed in Words, as *Laudatio* does that which is expressed by Words. *Gloria* is a Renown for great and signal Actions, which Renown is attended with Respect for the Performer. *Dignitas* is applied to a Person who unites all these in himself.

Ibid. l. 19. *Quintus Pompeius the Proconsul.*] In the Original it is *Quinto Pompeio Proconsuli contubernalis*. It is uncertain, whether our Author means here, that his Client lived in the same Tent, or was in the Retinue of *Quintus Pompeius*; or if he does not mean only that he served in the same Camp; for the Word *contubernalis* will imply all. It is most probable, that he means no more than that he was a Kind of Pupil to the Proconsul, who took care while they were encamped to have him always under his Eye.

Ibid. l. 24. *Our Ancestors.*] No Part of the *Roman* Polity was more commendable than the Care they took in the Education of their Children. As every *Roman* was intitled to the highest Posts in the Government, so the Parents who were able to afford it, as in the Case here of *Cælius*, qualified their Sons by early initiating them into

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into that Course of Life, in which their Ambition might one Day be gratified.

P. 169. l. 4. *The Prosecution of some illustrious Offender.*] This, one should think now, an ungrateful ill-natured Way of rising to Power; yet there was nothing recommended a Roman Patriot more to his Fellow Citizens, than a frequent Exercise of the Right of impeaching illustrious Offenders. The Nature of their Laws very much favoured this Practice, and it was very difficult for the greatest Men amongst them to screen themselves from a Prosecution, however easy it might be, by corrupting the Judges, or the People, for them to be acquitted.

Ibid. *My unfortunate Colleague Antony.*] This was the same Antony who was Cicero's Colleague at the Time of the Catiline's Conspiracy, whom Cælius accused of corrupt Practices upon Antony's returning from the Province of Macedonia, where he had been Proconsul.

P. 169. l. 23. *In this Turn of Life.*] Orig. *In hoc flexu quasi etatis.* This is a beautiful Allusion to the turning the Goal in the Races of Chariots during the Exhibition of publick Shows. As the turning is that Part of the Carrier which requires the most Address to manage, so in the Carrier of Life there are certain Turns, especially betwixt Youth and Manhood, in which it requires great Address to avoid meeting with a Rub.

P. 170. l. 12. *The Splendor of his Habit.*] The Romans generally, when they appeared under Trial, wore very mean Habits. It is uncertain whether Cicero means to obviate a Prejudice which might lie against Cælius, who perhaps was very gaily dressed upon his Trial, or if it was to excuse him for the general Delicacy and Luxury for which he was distinguished.

The Expression in the Original is *purpurea genus*; for the Romans minded more the Colour and Brightness of their Clothes, than the Fineness of the Materials which composed them.

P. 172. l. 14. *Sextus Clodius.*] This is the same we read so much of in the Oration for Milo.

P. 173. l. 3. *Husband, Brother.*] This is a bitter Sneer upon Claudius, whom our Author elsewhere calls a
Jupiter,

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Jupiter, from his having the same Woman both a Sister and a Wife.

The rest of this Peroration is so extremely beautiful, that it is no Wonder the Event was favourable to Cælius, who was acquitted.



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Notes on the first PHILIPPIC.

PAGE 176. l. 1. *Before, Fathers Conscript.*] Our Author here, does not as he commonly does, introduce his Oration with an Exordium; this Oration being of the deliberative Kind: And *Cicero* knew that the Hearers came prepared for the Occasion, and were apprized of the Importance of the Case.

P. 177. l. 1. *In a kind of a consular and senatorial Watch.*] This has an Allusion to a Soldiers' standing Centry, and observing a particular Post or Charge. Such a Manner has a prodigious Influence upon the Hearers, and nobody who reads it now but must be touched with the pathetick Sentiment that it contains.

Ibid. l. 15. *Specious was then, &c.*] After *Cæsar's* Death *Anthony* manag'd with great Address, and even outwitted our Author, and the other Friends of the republican System of Government. He pretended a mighty Zeal for the Liberties of *Rome*, and appeared so warm, that he not only out-did the greatest Patriots in Zeal, but sent his only Son as a Pledge to the Conspirators, of their being in Safety to come to the Senate.

Our *Shakespeare* has wonderfully hit on the Character of *Anthony*, in his celebrated Play of *Julius Cæsar*, which, as it may be a Key to the Reader in the following Orations, I shall here transcribe.

After Cæsar is killed, Anthony is introduced.

Ant. O mighty *Cæsar*! dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy Conquests, Glories, Triumphs, Spoils,
Shrunk to this little Measure? — Fare thee well,
I know not, Gentlemen, what you intend,
Who else must be let blood? Who else is rank?
If I myself, there is no Hour so fit,
As *Cæsar's* Death's Hour; nor no Instruments
Of half that Worth as those your Swords made rich
With the most noble Blood of all this World.

I do

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I do beseech ye, if ye bear me hard,
Now, whilst your purpled Hands do reek and smoke,
Fulfil your Pleasure. Live a thousand Years,
I shall not find myself so apt to die:
No Place will please me so, no Mean of Death,
As here by *Cæsar*, and by you cut off,
The choice and master Spirits of this Age.

Bru. O *Anthony*! beg not your Death of us:
Tho' now we must appear bloody and cruel;
As, by our Hands, and this our present Act,
You see we do; yet see you but our Hands,
And this the bleeding Business they have done:
Our Hearts you see not, they are pitiful;
And Pity to the general Wrong of *Rome*
(As Fire drives out Fire, so Pity Pity)
Hath done this Deed on *Cæsar*: For your Part,
To you our Swords have leaden Points, *Mark Anthony*;
Our Arms exempt from Malice, and our Heart
Of Brother's Temper, do receive you in
With all kind Love, good Thoughts, and Reverence.

Cæs. Your Voice shall be as strong as any Man's
In the disposing of new Dignities.

Bru. Only be patient, till we have appeas'd
The Multitude, beside themselves with Fear;
And then we will deliver you the Cause,
Why I, that did love *Cæsar* when I struck him,
Proceeded thus.

Ant. ——— I doubt not of your Wisdom.
Let each Man render me his bloody Hand;
First, *Marcus Brutus*, will I shake with you;
Next, *Caius Cassius*, do I take your Hand;
Now, *Decius Brutus*, yours; now yours, *Metellus*;
Yours, *Cinna*; and, my valiant *Cæsa* yours;
Tho' last, not least in Love, yours, good *Trebonius*.
Gentlemen all—alas, what shall I say?
My Credit now stands on such slippery Ground,
That one of two bad Ways you must conceit me;
Either a Coward, or a Flatterer.
That I did love thee, *Cæsar*, oh, 'tis true;
If then thy Spirit look upon us now,
Shall it not grieve thee, dearer than thy Death,
To see thy *Anthony* making his Peace,
Shaking the bloody Fingers of thy Foes,

Most

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Most Noble! in the Presence of thy Corse?
Had I as many Eyes, as thou hast Wounds,
Weeping as fast as they stream forth thy Blood,
It would become me better, than to close
In Terms of Friendship, with thine Enemies.
Pardon me, *Julius*,—here wast thou bay'd, brave *Hart*;
Here didst thou fall, and here thy Hunters stand
Sign'd in thy Spoil, and crimson'd in thy Death.
O World! thou wast the Forest to this *Hart*;
And this, indeed, O World, the Heart of thee.
How like a Deer, stricken by many Princes,
Dost thou here lie?

Cas. Mark Anthony.——

Ant. Pardon me, *Caius Cassius*;
The Enemies of *Cæsar* will say this;
Then in a Friend, it is cold Modesty.

Cas. I blame you not for praising *Cæsar* so;
But what Compact mean you to have with us?
Will you be prick'd in Number of our Friends,
Or shall we on, and not depend on you?

Ant. Therefore I took your Hands; but was indeed
Sway'd from the Point, by looking down on *Cæsar*.
Friends am I with you all, and love you all,
Upon this Hope, that you shall give me Reasons,
Why, and wherein *Cæsar* was dangerous.

Brut. Or else this was a savage Spectacle.
Our Reasons are so full of good Regard,
That were you, *Antony*, the Son of *Cæsar*,
You should be satisfied.

Ant. That's all I seek;
And am moreover Suitor, that I may
Produce his Body to the Market-Place,
And in the Pulpit, as becomes a Friend,
Speak in the Order of his Funeral.

Brut. You shall, *Mark Antony*.

Cas. Brutus, a Word with you——
You know not what you do; do not consent
That *Antony* speak in his Funeral.
Know you, how much the People may be mov'd
By that which he will utter?

Brut. By your Pardon,
I will myself into the Pulpit first,

And

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And shew the Reason of our *Cæsar's* Death.
What *Antony* shall speak, I will protest
He speaks by Leave, and by Permission;
And that we are contented, *Cæsar* shall
Have all due Rites, and lawful Ceremonies;
It shall advantage more than do us wrong.

Cæs. I know not what may fall; I like it not.

Bru. *Mark Antony*, take you *Cæsar's* Body:
You shall not in your Funeral Speech blame us,
But speak all good you can devise of *Cæsar*;
And say, you do't by our Permission:
Else shall you not have any Hand at all
About his Funeral. And you shall speak
In the same Pulpit whereto I am going,
After my Speech is ended.

Ant. Be it so:

I do desire no more.

Brut. Prepare the Body then, and follow us.

[*Exeunt Conspirators.*]

Manet Antony.

Ant. O pardon me, thou bleeding Piece of Earth!
That I am meek and gentle with these Butchers.
Thou art the Ruins of the noblest Man,
That ever lived in the Tide of Times.
Woe to the Hand, that shed this costly Blood!
Over thy Wounds now do I prophesy,
(Which, like dumb Mouths, do ope their ruby Lips,
To beg the Voice and Utterance of my Tongue)
A Curse shall light upon the Limbs of Men;
Domestick Fury, and fierce civil Strife,
Shall cumber all the Parts of *Italy*;
Blood and Destruction shall be so in use,
And dreadful Objects so familiar,
That Mothers shall but smile, when they behold
Their Infants quarter'd by the Hands of War:
All Pity choak'd with Custom of fell Deeds;
And *Cæsar's* Spirit, ranging for Revenge,
With *Ate* by his Side, come hot from Hell,
Shall in these Confines, with a Monarch's Voice,
Cry Havock, and let slip the Dogs of War;
That this foul Deed shall smell above the Earth
With carrion Men, groaning for Burial.

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P. 172 l. 21. *The principal Men of the City.*] In the Latin it is *Principes Civitatis*. Cicero very often uses the Word *Princeps*; but always when applied in a political Sense to signify a Leading Man. However, as it was a technical Kind of Word, it may not be amiss to give here his own Definition of it in his Oration for *Sextius*.

Horum (optimatum) qui voluntati commodis, opinioni, in gubernanda republica serviunt, defensores optimatum ipsique optimates gravissimi & clarissimi cives nominantur & Principes Civitatis.

P. *ibid.* l. 26. *The Commentaries of Cæsar.*] Our Author here seems to play upon the Word *Commentaries*, alluding to the History which *Cæsar* wrote under that Denomination. Perhaps, if the *English* Language had not already adopted the Word *Commentaries* to signify the History of *Cæsar*, this might have been as well translated *Memoirs*.

P. 178 l. 12. *One, answered he.*] This Person was *Sextus Clodius*, whom we heard so much of in the Oration for *Milo*: It seems he was living in Banishment in the Time of *Cæsar's* Dictatorship, having been found guilty upon the Law against Riots at the Time of that famous Trial. (See *Asconius's* Argument, and the Oration for *Milo*.) We have a Key to the History of his being recalled in the 14th Book of the Epistles to *Atticus*, where we meet with a Letter from *Antony*, while Consul, to *Cicero*, by which it appears that *Cicero* had applied to *Antony* for his good Offices with *Cæsar*, for *Clodius* being recalled from Banishment. The Passage is as follows:

Ut Cæsare petes ut Sextum Clodium restitueret; impetravi; erat mihi in animo etiam tuum, sic uti beneficio, si tu concessisses quo magis laboro, ut tua voluntate id per me facere nunc liceat.

“ You beg of *Cæsar*, says he, that he would recall
 “ *Sextus Clodius*; I have obtained it; I had such a Thing
 “ in my Thoughts even when you applied, provided
 “ you had given Consent; I labour now the more earnestly for it, as I now can do it with your Leave.”

P. 179. l. 7. *The fugitive Impostor was punish'd.*] There is a very contemptuous Expression here in the Original: *Uncus impactus est*, a Hook was drove into him; alluding to the Ignominy of dragging a very obscure Offender,

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who was a Prisoner of State, by a Hook to the *Scala Gemonianæ*, and hurling him into the *Tyber*. This was sometimes performed in Effigy. We read of a very wicked Minister being served in that Manner. *Juvenal*, speaking, Sat. x. of *Sejanus*.

*Pone domi lauros, duc in capitolia magnum
Cretatumque bovem; Sejanus ducitur unco,
Spectandus*

This somewhat resembles our Execution in Effigy. *Horace* mentions, Lib. i. Ode 31. the *Uncus Severus*. *Juvenal* again, Sat. 13, the *Uncus nigri Carceris*. *Ovid* in *Ibim*

*Carnificisque manus populo plaudente traheris
Inflexisque tuis ossibus uncus erit.*

P. 179. l. 14. *An universal Contagion.*] The History alluded to here, is as follows: After *Cæsar's* Death, the Populace hearing of the Donations he had bequeathed, and artfully spirited up by certain Agents perhaps of *Antony*, idolized his Memory. For this Purpose they reared a Pillar twenty Feet high in the *Forum* and inscribed to PARENTI PATRIÆ: On this Pillar they sacrificed for a long Time; made Vows before it; and decided certain Law-Suits by one of the Parties swearing by the Name of *Cæsar*. But as these were but the very Dregs of the People, *Dollabella*, who was at that Time Colleague with *Antony* in the Consulate, razed the Pillar to the Ground; those Slaves who had been instrumental in rearing and worshipping it, he crucified, and the Citizens he threw from the *Tarpeian Rock*.

P. *ibid.* l. 18. *Without an Interment.*] The People tumultuously, as the Faction of *Clodius* had done before, (see the Oration for *Milo*) burned the Body of *Cæsar* with the Forms and Seats, &c. which they plucked from the Courts of Justice that surrounded the *Forum*. Thus, though the Body of *Cæsar* had a Burial, yet it had not those Rites performed which constituted a Funeral.

P. 180. l. 17. *The Veterans.*] There is a very great Discrepancy among the Commentators upon this Passage. Some think that *Cicero* calls them Veterans by Way of Derision, with a Sneer. But *Grævius* interprets the

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the Words *Qui Apellabantur* to signify *who were called in*. This is more agreeable both to Historical Truth, and to what *Cicero* hints afterwards when he speaks of *Antony's Council at Law*, which could be probably no other than these Veterans, whom he called in to avenge *Cæsar's* Death, under whom they had served, and under whom they had obtained Allotments of Lands.

P. 180. l. 23. *Unlimited Deputation.*] This Deputation *Cicero* obtained from the Consul *Dolabella*, and it gave him a Right to certain Marks of Respect and Privilege, which he otherwise must have been deprived of.

P. 181. l. 15. *Brundisium*, was the Sea-port where the most commodious Passage was over to *Greece* and *Epirus*. Our Author has here a very broad Insinuation, as if *Antony*, or some of *Cæsar's* Abettors, hearing of his Intention to travel into *Greece*, had way-laid him to cut him off at *Brundisium*, where it was probable he would take shipping.

P. 181. l. 10. *Yet that City.*] We have seen in the Oration against *Cæcilius*, in the first Volume, how popular *Cicero* was among the *Sicilians*, and how easily he might have made a Party there. Perhaps it is not very much in Favour of his Courage and Patriotism, that at a Juncture so critical to the Liberties of his Country, he did not take Care to make a better Use of his Interest there, than we find by this Passage he did.

P. 182. l. 5. *Edict of Brutus and Cassius.*] This Manifesto was probably published by them, as a counter one to that published by *Antony*. In Book xvi. of our Author's Epistles to *Atticus*, Ep. 7. he says, *Antonii editum legi a Bruto, & horum contra; scriptum proclare; sed quid ista edicta valeant, aut quo spectant plane non video.*

"I have got from *Brutus*, and read, the Manifesto by *Antony*, and theirs publish'd against him; it is indeed prettily drawn up; but what the Significancy, or what the Purposes of these Edicts are, to tell you the Truth, I can't see."

We have in *Velleius* an Account, that *Brutus* and *Cassius* publish'd a Manifesto, offering, that if it could be of any Service for securing the Peace of their Coun-

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try, and preventing the Civil Wars from being renewed, they would willingly live in perpetual Banishment.

Ibid. l. 16. *Provinces of Gaul.*] One of the great Grounds of the Civil War that broke out upon *Cæsar's* Death, was by *Antony's* endeavouring to transfer to himself the Government of the two *Gauls*; the one of which had been decreed to *Numantius Plancus*, the other to *Decimus Plancus*. These Pretensions on the Part of *Antony* being dropp'd, there was great Reason for our Author's entertaining Hopes of an Accommodation being brought about.

P. 182. l. 21. *Neither Winds nor Sails.*] Our Author never misses any Opportunity to put his Patriotism in the strongest Light; but I could have wished that a Man of his Importance had thought fit to have staid by the Helm of the Government at this tempestuous Time, rather than have committed himself to the Winds and Waves, to seek a safe Retreat in a foreign Country, and to the same Winds and Waves as soon as he thought he could have a safe Abode in his own Country. In this he acted a good deal like a Scholar and a speculative *Virtuoso*; but I doubt much if he acted as a Patriot of Consular Dignity.

Ibid. ibid. *I saw Brutus.*] This Interview is exceedingly moving, and our Author's Reflection cannot fail of touching every Breast, which is capable of entertaining the least Sentiment of a brave unfortunate Man. How amiable does this Character of *Brutus* appear; how much more amiable would it have appeared, had he killed any Tyrant, but one who had the Virtues, the Qualities, the Dignity, and the Soul of *Cæsar*!

P. 183. l. 25. *Of Fate and Providence.*] This is a fine Praise of our Author's own publick Spirit, and at the same Time an oblique Reflection upon *Antony* and his Faction, as if they thought him too dangerous a Man to live.

The Original here is curious, and deserves the Reader's Attention; the Words are as follow: *Sed ut si quid mihi humanitus accidisset, multa autem impendere præter naturam præterque fatum hujus tamen diei vocem hanc testem republicæ relinquerem meæ perpetuæ erga se voluntatis.*

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Aulus Gellius has given us an instructive Commentary upon these Words, which I cannot help transcribing.

An utrumque idem valere voluerit fatum & naturam, & duas res 'αὐτὸ ἐνδὲς ὑποκειμένῃς τε προμηνῆν καὶ φύσιν; an verò dividerit sepeveritque, ut alios casus natura ferre videatur, alios fatum, considerandum equidem puto. Atque id maxime requirendum, qua ratione dixerit accidere multa humanitus posse præter fatum; quando sic ratio, & ordo, & inseparabilis quædam fati necessitas constituitur, ut omnia intra fatum claudenda sint; nisi illud sane Homeri secutus est:

Μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ Μοῖραν δόμον Ἀΐδου ἑσπάρηναι.

Ne præter fatum accedas Plutonis ad ædes.

Nilil autem dubium est quin violentam & inopinam mortem significaverit; quæ quidem potest recte videri accidere præter naturam. Sed cur id quoque genus mortis extra fatum posuerit, neque operis hujus est explorare, neque temporis.

P. 184. l. 3. *A short Complaint.*] Our Author touches very gently here, upon the monstrous Insult offered him by *Antony*: But in the following Oration the Reader will find a kind of Apology for this gentle Treatment.

Ibid. l. 15. Hannibal sure was at the Gates, &c.] The Consternation Rome was in at the Approach of *Hannibal*, and the Deliberation upon a Peace with *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, were Events so famous in the Roman History, that they became proverbial to imply any great Event.

Ibid. l. 23. *View of saving their Forfeitures.*] As an Explication of this Passage will give the Reader some Light with Regard to the Constitution of the Roman Senate, we judge this Account will be very acceptable to him.

The Consuls sometimes obliged the Senators to lodge certain Pledges in their Hands, which they were to lose whenever they refused Obedience to the Commands of the Consul. A little after *Cæsar* expostulates the Matter thus: *Quis autem unquam tanto damno sena-*

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torem coegit. Aut quid est ultra pignus aut mulctum. Who, says he, ever compelled a Senator to Compliance by a Loss so considerable? In what other Shape can he be punished in this Case, than by a Fine, or the Loss of his Pledge? They not only forced the Senators by these Pledges to attend the Senate, but likewise to humour them in other Respects. *Plutarch* gives us the following Account of this Fact: "Next Day, says he, *Antony* holding a Senate, and desiring *Cicero* to attend, *Cicero* did not attend, but took his Bed, feigning to be indisposed on the Road. It was conjectured that *Cicero* suspected some Snare, from some Intelligence he got by the Way. *Antony* took this as a great Affront, and sent Soldiers, with Orders either to bring him, or set the House in which he was on Fire; but when Numbers interceded for him, and pleaded in his Behalf, *Antony* was satisfied, by making *Cicero* lose his Pledge." Thus far *Plutarch*. But this Account is quite inconsistent with *Cicero's* own, who, tho' he endeavours to heighten and exaggerate the injurious Treatment of *Antony*, neither mentions the sending of Soldiers, nor the Orders to set the House on Fire, nor his taking the Pledges. *Cicero* only complains, that *Antony* had threatened to employ Workmen to break down his House; neither does he affirm that his Pledges were taken, but only complains of *Antony's* threatening a Thing so harsh, since other Senators had refused Obedience to the Consul, and only were fined, or lost their Pledges on that Account.

P. 186. l. 9. *Parental Obsequies.*] From *Tertullian*, *Pliny*, *Festus*, and our Author, we could produce a great many Passages relating to these Parental Obsequies which *Cicero* calls *Parentalia*; but that would be a Piece of useless Labour, since we know that they were only Feasts held, and Sacrifices offered in Memory of the Dead. They were called *Parentalia*, because performed on Account of Parents and Relations.

Ibid. l. 20. *In the Temple of Ops.*] In the Temple of *Ops* was the Treasury. *Ops* was the Mother of the Gods. She is sometimes called *Cybele*, sometimes *Bona*, and sometimes *Matula*.

Ibid. l. 21. *It was stained with Blood.*] *Pompey* being dead, and all his Party ruined, their Effects were confiscated.

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fiscated, and deposited in the Temple of *Ops*, to be used by the *Roman* People if Necessity should require.

P. 190. l. 14. *Was ever Law of greater Importance.*] The Law which our Author here takes notice of, is, perhaps, one of the soundest Maxims that can enter into any free Government; which is, *that Power shall never remain too long in the Hands of one Man.* This *Cæsar* himself was so sensible of, that it appears he preserved it as a Maxim of his Government; and indeed it was the Disregard of this Maxim in succeeding Times, that produced all the Convulsions of State under the Emperors; for when the Magistrates and Generals, sent to foreign Provinces, had their Commissions prolonged beyond a certain Number of Years, they found Means to make such a Party in their Province, that they commonly dispossessed the reigning Emperor.

Ibid. l. 24. *A third Decury of Judges.*] *Cæsar* had enacted that in all judiciary Proceedings, the Judges should be elected out of two Orders only, viz. the Senatorian and Equestrian; but *Antony* wanted to introduce a third Decury or Order, which was to consist of military Men, which *Cicero* justly objects to. The Qualification than was to intitle them to sit in a judicial Proceeding was their being Centurions, or having the Command of a certain Number of Soldiers. *Antony* reasoned in this Manner: *Cæsar*, said he, allowed *Roman* Knights to be Judges, therefore Centurions being *Roman* Knights are to be Judges. This *Cicero* is not against, provided they had the Qualifications required by the Law of *Pompey*, which was that they should possess a certain Share of Property; if a *Roman* Knight had not that Qualification, he could not act as a Judge. This is a Proof of how much Importance the *Romans* thought an Independency of Fortune was in the Courts of Justice, towards the Preservation of their Liberties and Properties. *Antony* wanted to have this Qualification removed, because then, as he had the Army at his Disposal, and was at the Head of it, he could have carried any Jobb he had a Mind, by filling the Bench with needy Officers, who depended on himself.

P. 192. l. 15. *Another Law is promulged, &c.*] This is very just and artful Reasoning in our Orator. It is,

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says he, by Means of the People, that most Riots are committed ; if, therefore, the Leader of a Riot has Power to appeal to the People, he is sure to be acquitted, because they are Parties on his Side ; therefore, concludes he, this is a mere Solecism in Law and Polity.

P. 184. l. 20. *The Dead.*] *Cicero* here, by the Repetition of the Word *Mortuo*, humourously exposes the Absurdity of *Antony's* Conduct, by shewing that all these Innovations were not owing to *Antony*, but *Cæsar* who was dead.

P. 195. l. 1. The Words we read here were the Preamble, as appears, to all the Bills which the *Roman* People passed. The Case is much the same, as if the *English* Government should, without Consent of the Parliament, pass a Bill, enacted by and with Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c.

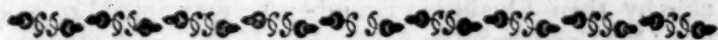
P. 196. l. 16. *Dolabella.*] This whole Address to *Dolabella* is extremely artful and moving. He was *Antony's* Colleague, and *Cicero* seems to have a particular Regard for him.

P. 202. l. 28. *Pompey's Statue.*] It appears from all the Circumstances of the History of this Period, never was there a more fickle, inconstant, prostitute, mercenary Set of Men, than the People of *Rome* in those Days. One Day we find them burning the Houses of the Slayers of *Cæsar* ; another Day paying religious Adoration to his Memory ; and in this Passage we find them all united in applauding the Action, and celebrating *Brutus* as their Deliverer from Tyranny.

P. 203. l. 5. *Plays of Apollo.*] These Plays were exhibited at the Expence of *Brutus*, who was Prætor, who did not think fit at that Time to be present in Person at *Rome*.

P. 204. l. 1. *Aulus Hirtius.*] *Hirtius* was then Consul Elect, and happening to fall sick of a Fever, the *Romans* were in great Consternation.

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Notes on the second PHILIPPIC.

PAGE 213. Line 1. *To what Fatality attending me.*] The Words in the Original are *Quonam meo fato*, and one Copy has it *facto*, which Reading is disapproved of by most of the Commentators. The Antients defined *fatum* thus, *Omnium connectionem sericque causarum, qua fit omne quod fit*. The Connection and Series of all Causes, by Means of which all Things happen that do happen. The Words in the Original are what Rhetoricians call *Exordium ex abrupto*, in which he enquires into the Causes why, since his being engaged in the State, and obtaining the Consulship, none who have plagued and harassed the State, have failed to be open and avowed Enemies to him.

Ibid. l. 3. *That for these twenty Years.*] These are the twenty Years which intervened betwixt *Cicero's* Consulship and the killing of *Cæsar*, which happened under the Consulship of *Mark Antony*.

P. 214. l. 5. *That you dread not their Fates.*] *Catiline*, who had conspired against the Republick, and against *Cicero*, was slain in a Battle, bearing Arms against his Native Country. His Accomplices in that Conspiracy were, by a Decree of the Senate, killed in Prison. *Clodius*, who was an inveterate Enemy to *Cicero*, and who, by his Factions, had forced him into Banishment, was slain by *Milo*.

Ibid. l. 6. *Yet the Conduct of others.*] He here means *Clodius*, *Catiline*, *Vatinius*, *Piso*, and *Gabinus*, with regard to whom *Cicero* was the Aggressor.

Ibid. l. 13. *By your Calumies even attack'd me.*] *Antony* was the Aggressor, and that too without a Cause; for he wanted to compel *Cicero* to come into the Senate-House even when faint, and his Strength exhausted by his Journey.

Ibid. 18. *In my Character.*] In the Original the Words are *in gratia*, and point undoubtedly at the Instances of Kindness which the *Roman People* shewed to *Cicero*; which

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which were not only many in Number, but remarkable by their Quality; for when he was forced to quit the City, and go into Exile, by *Clodius*, and the two Consuls, *Piso* and *Gabinus*, almost the whole Equestrian Order, changed their Garments, (among the *Romans* a Sign of Sorrow) and twenty thousand of the Youth of greatest Note, cloathed in homely Drefs, accompanied those who were to intercede for his Restitution; and a full Senate decreed a Change of Drefs, as in a general Mourning. When he was on his Return from Exile, the Senate and all the People went forth to meet him, and conducted him with the greatest Shouts, and as it were in Triumph, from the *Porta Capena* to the Capitol; and when he was approaching the Town, in his Return from *Greece*, the Confluence of People was so great, that a whole Day was consumed in receiving their Addresses and Congratulations. See *Plutarch in his Life of Cicero*.

P. 215. l. 1. *Praise of saving it.*] When *Cicero* had freed the Republick of the Danger that threatened it from the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, the Senate decreed a Thanksgiving in Honour of him; and *Marcus Cato* being asked his Sentiments of the Matter, pronounced *Cicero*, *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of his Country; an Honour till that Time never conferred on any in a free State.

Ibid. l. 18. *My Friend and Relation.*] Who this Friend and Relation was, *Cicero* neither tells us, nor can we, from any Circumstances mentioned, so much as guess at him; but the Stranger spoke of was *Quintus Fadius Bambalio*, a freed Man, whose Daughter *Antony* had married. *Cicero* appearing for his Friend against this *Bambalio*, *Antony* was angry with him, and reproached him with having violated the Laws of Friendship.

Ibid. l. 24. *Thro' the Partiality of a scandalous Interposer.*] Some Tribune of the People had it seems been bribed by *Antony* or *Bambalio*, to interpose against *Cicero's* Friend.

Ibid. l. 25. *And not the Decision of the Prætor.*] The Words in the Original are *Jure Prætorio*; now the *Jus Prætorium* was a Power assumed by the *Prætors*, of mending, helping, supplying, and correcting the civil

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civil Law, as Necessity should require. This Power was likewise called *Jus Honorarium*.

P. 216. l. 2. *The lowest Rank of People.*] This is the Plebeian Order.

Ibid. l. 7. *As a Pupil under my Care.*] It was customary, when Boys had taken the *manly Gown*, to give them in Charge to Men of Learning and good Morals, in order to be instructed in the Duties of Life, and get them formed to Virtue and Humanity.

Ibid. l. 25. *At a Time when Curio, &c.*] This was *Curio's* Son who is here pointed at, and who, by his Intimacy with *Antony*, became so corrupted and so profligate, that in order to support his Debaucheries, and carry on his wicked Designs, he contracted great Debts; which when he was resolving to cancel, his Father banished *Antony* from his House, upon which he betook himself to *Clodius*, and when Designs were forming against him, retired into *Asia*.

P. 217. l. 1. *You was made an Augur, &c.*] There was at *Rome* a most splendid College of Augurs, who were nine in Number, elected not only from the Patrician, but likewise from the Plebeian Order, and their Dignity was perpetual.

Ibid. l. 12. *Did not murder me at Brundisium.*] After *Pompey* was vanquished in the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Cato* of *Utica* endeavoured to persuade *Cicero*, at the Request of his Friends, to take upon him the Command of the Fleet; but *Cæsar* pursuing him, *Cicero* fled to *Brundisium*, with a Design to go into *Italy*; and as *Antony* was sent thither before him by *Cæsar*, he might have killed *Cicero*, since he refused both the Authority of *Pompey* and of *Cæsar*. See Appian, *Lib. II. Bell. Civil.*

Ibid. l. 16. *The chief Command among his Robbers.*] Here *Cicero* bears hard both upon *Cæsar* and upon *Antony*; for he insinuates, that that War might more justly be stiled a Robbery than a lawful War, because it was carried on *contra patriam*, against the native Country of those who were engaged in it: A Circumstance, of all others, the most aggravating among the *Romans*, that People so justly famed for their strong Passion for Liberty; and because in that War, amongst the Rest of the Robbers, *Antony* bore the chief Command, and was,

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in Consequence of that, sent into *Italy* by *Cæsar*, with a View to subject it by Force of Arms.

P. 217. l. 12. *And who killed the Man who preserved them.*] Here *Brutus* and *Cassius* must be excepted, since they had never submitted to *Cæsar*'s Authority; but all the rest who had a Hand in his Murder had been saved by him. See Appian, *Lib. II. Bell. Civil.*

P. 218. l. 12. *To bewail my expiring Country.*] *Antony* was endeavouring to destroy the Constitution; since he not only wanted to assume to himself the Power which *Cæsar* had usurped, but likewise to reverse the Laws made by *Cæsar*: This provoked *Cicero*, and stirred him up to oppose every Measure of *Antony*'s, which had the least Tendency to ruin the Commonwealth. This, in fine, made him expostulate with *Antony* in the following Manner: *An de interitu reipublicæ queri non debui, ne in te ingratus viderer?* As if he had said, "Must I then, O *Antony*, because you once spared my Life at *Brundisium*, that Life which you had indeed the Power, but not the Right to deprive me of; must I, I say, on that Account, truckle to your Humour? must I, for that Reason, either tacitly applaud, or tamely view your Attempts on the Freedom and Happiness of *Rome*? Am I obliged, in Consequence of that Circumstance, to sacrifice the noblest and most worthy Principle of my Nature, namely, *the Love of my Country*, to the Whim and Caprice, to the ambitious Views, or even to the most virtuous Friendship of a single Man. Mistaken Mortal, I disdain the horrid Thought; I prefer a greater to a smaller Good, publick to private Happiness, the Interest of a Community to the Favour of an Individual. Yes! the Love of my Country is an Obligation, sacred, indefeasible, and eternal; all inferior and less holy Ties shall yield to this. The Gods themselves cannot dissolve my Obligation to it. Cease then, *Antony*, to think, that the small Favour of Life once preserved by you, either can or will supercede it."

Ibid. l. 15. *But indispensable with me in this Station.*] *Cicero* was a Senator, and a Man of Consular Dignity, than which there was not a more honourable Station in *Rome*.

Ibid. l. 23. *The Remains of the State.*] He here probably means the publick Money laid up in the Temple of

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of *Ops*, which remained of the Largeſſes of *Cæſar*, and which *Antony* claimed to himſelf; or *Cicero* may here likewise mean the four thouſand Talents, which *Antony* got from *Calphurnia*, *Cæſar*'s Wife.

P. 219 l. 1. *Never had been promulg'd.*] Before any Law was paſſed, it was propoſed or promulged for twenty-ſeven Days, with theſe Words, *Velitis jubeatis Quirites, ut lex illa*, &c. and then the Law was ſaid to be promulged.

Ibid. l. 9. *Marcus Cræſſus.*] The Enmity between this *Cræſſus* (who was a very rich Man, and ſlain in the *Parthian Wars*) and *Cicero* was very ſtrong and inveterate, becauſe he imagined he had been engaged in the Conſpiracy of *Cataline*, but he was afterwards reconciled to *Cræſſus*, at his Son's Requeſt.

P. 220. l. 11. *Mustella Tamifus, and Tiro Numifus.*] Any farther Account we cannot give of theſe Men, than that they were Paraſites of *Antony*'s, and of a low and deſpicable Character.

Ibid. l. 21. *Profitable Dexterity.*] He here inſinuates, or rather aſſerts in plain Terms, that *Antony* had counterfeited *Cæſar*'s Hand, and done it with ſuch Art, that many of *Antony*'s Forgeries were miſtaken for genuine Acts of *Cæſar*.

P. 222. l. 24.] *Why ſhould I oppoſe.*] *Cicero* had no Mind vigorouſly to oppoſe *Antony*, ſince he knew that *Clodius* was to be brought back, in Conſequence of a Law already paſſed by *Cæſar*.

Ibid. 223. l. 16, *Whoſe Fate as it has overtaken Curio.*] *Appian* tells us, that this *Curio* (when he was marching with two Legions into *Lybia* againſt *Varus*, who favour'd *Pompey*, and againſt *Juba* King of *Mauritania* who favour'd *Varus*) was cut off with his Army at the River *Bagrada*.

Ibid. l. 21. *Publius Servilius.*] This *Publius Servilius* conquered the *Iſidauri* in *Italy*, and thence had the Name of *Iſidauricus* beſtowed on him. He died in extreme old Age, under the Conſulſhip of *Cæſar* and *Antony*.

P. 226. l. 4. *To-day Antony does not appear.*] *Antony* did not on this Occaſion come into the Senate, becauſe he was probably hindered, not by his own, but by the Birth-day of ſome Paraſite or other.

P. 227. l. 20. *Abandoned Ruſſians confeſs their Intentions.*] Beſides many others who confeſſed, there was one
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Caparius, who, upon a public Promise of Protection, discovered the whole Conspiracy.

P. 228. l. 9. *Body of his Step-Father to be buried.*] *Antony* it seems had objected to *Cicero*, that he refused Burial to the Corps of *Lentulus Sura*. But *Plutarch* tells us in his *Antony*, that this Story is false.

P. 229. l. 3. *Chapel of Concord.*] Our Author thro' all his Orations is still affecting to bring in the Mention of his Consulate; in this Passage it occurs very naturally, since nothing can be more shocking than to see the Deliberations of a publick Body over-awed by open Force; but *Cicero*, one should think, ought to have been a little tender of touching upon that Point; for even in the Case of *Catiline*, the Deliberations of the Senate were by no means free. There was a Body of *Roman Knights*, who were still at Hand, and, as he himself insinuates, were ready to have done whatever he had a Mind should be done; nay, we find that they went so far, as even to offer to kill *Cæsar*, for delivering his Sentiments freely.

P. 230. l. 24. *To the long Robe.*] This is the famous Distich which has occasioned so many severe Sneers upon our Author's poetical Character: And indeed it is amazing that a Man, so quick-sighted in the Characters of others, should be so blind to his own, as not only to mistake his Genius, but obstinately to persevere in his Mistake, by renewing his Attempts to versify, and defending his Compositions. It would appear that *Antony* had been a little severe upon him for this, and his Answer to him here is by no Means the most shining Part of this Oration, and far from the delicate Raillery which he is Master of on other Occasions.

P. 231. l. 22. *Clodius.*] Our Author here repeats a great deal of what he has said in his Oration for *Milo*, which the Reader may consult.

P. 233. l. 17. *Cæsar out-witted me.*] This was the great Failure of *Cicero's* Politicks. He had done a great deal for *Pompey*, nay to a Degree of Adulation; yet he took his Measures so ill, that he put *Pompey*, who, it would appear, had still a secret Contempt for him, upon a Necessity of dropping him, which proved the Cause of all his subsequent Misfortunes.

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P. 234. l. 3. *Cæsar's Command.*] This was a great Error in *Pompey* and *Crassus*. They obtained, by their Interest in the Senate, a Prorogation of *Cæsar's* Command in *Gaul*, which gave him an Opportunity of gaining Glory and Riches, and garbling his Army, and hardening it so in the Field, as to be an Over-match for the Forces of the Republick.

Ibid. l. 20. *Thy Patriotism.*] Our Author, tho' perhaps he was sensible that *Pompey* was no more a Patriot than *Cæsar*; yet as he had been guilty of no Overt-act against the State, and was the General of the Republick; *Cicero* here mentions his *Gravitas*, which I have ventured to translate Patriotism, as thinking that that was *Cicero's* real Meaning.

P. 236. l. 23. *Lucius Tullius Cimber.*] *Seneca*, in his Epistles to *Lucullus*, says, that this *Cimber* was a notorious Drunkard, and that, nevertheless, the Secret of *Cæsar* the Dictator's Death was as much entrusted to him as it was to *Cassius*, who all his Life had drank nothing but Water.

P. 237. l. 4. *The two Servilii.*] *Publius Servilius* the Father was Consul in the Year of the City 674, and having taken the Towns of the *Isauri*, he assumed the Sirname of *Isauricus*. His Son was twice Consul.

P. 241. l. 15. *Trojan Horse of this great Design.*] It is said that the *Grecian* Princes were shut up in a wooden Horse, and that they sallied out thence in order to overturn *Troy*. Vide *Virgil* II. *Lib. Æneid*. *Pliny* Book VII. thinks that the *Trojan* Horse was a Machine intended for destroying and beating down Walls, and that it was the same with the *Aries* made by *Epeus*.

P. 242. l. 20. *That at Narbonne.*] This City is the most antient of all *Gaul*, and gives its Name to the whole Province in which it lies.

Ibid. l. 21. *You entered into that Plot.*] When the Conspirators were consulting among themselves about the killing *Cæsar*, it was debated among them, whether they should invite *Antony* to accomplish their Design; but *Trebonius* opposed the Motion, pretending, that he was no Stranger to the Sentiments of *Antony* with Regard to this Matter, since he had already endeavoured to push him on to it, at that Time when *Cæsar* was returning from *Gaul*. He represented at the same Time,

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Time, that *Antony* refused to comply with what he proposed, but that he had nevertheless kept the Secret faithfully. For which Reason it was again debated among them, whether they should kill *Antony* along with *Cæsar*; but *Brutus* opposed this, because he thought that an Affair undertaken in Defence of Liberty, and the Laws of one's Country, ought if possible to be managed in a popular Manner.

P. 244. l. 9. *I say only that you was pleased.*] *Antony* had Reason to be pleased at the Death of *Cæsar*, since from it he reaped great Advantages; for in Consequence of it he drained the Treasury, and using too much Freedom with his Pocket-Books and Memorandums, disposed of Provinces to whom he had a Mind.

Ibid. l. 21. *Have lost so many Generals.*] In that Civil War some very great Men perished, viz. *Pompey*, *Cato*, *Pelleius*, and *Afranius*.

P. 246. l. 20. *To Paphos.*] *Pompey*, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, fled to *Paphos*, a Town of *Cyprus*, built by *Appagenor*.

P. 247. l. 7. *The Jokes in the Camp.*] *Cicero* had a very facetious, but at the same Time a very satirical, Turn. Of the Truth of this we have several Proofs, viz. when *Pompey* said to him, *Sero venis Cicero*, he replied, *Non sero, nihil enim video paratum*. In like Manner when *Pompey* said, *Victoria in manu est mea*, *Cicero* added, *Si tibi negotium esset cum mulieribus*. And after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, when one *Nonnius* exhorted his Countrymen to take Courage, because there were still seven of the *Roman* Eagles remaining; *Cicero* answered, *Recte admones si adversus Graculos pugnaremus*. These are some Instances of *Cicero's* Wit: Whether it is of the true and genuine Kind, I leave the Reader to judge for himself.

Ibid. l. 25. *Lucius Rubricus Cassinas.*] *Cassinum* is a Town of *Campania*, situate near the Place where the *Via Appia* and the *Via Latina* run into one another.

P. 249. l. 18. *You and your Grandfather.*] His Grandfather was that celebrated Orator *Mark Antony*, so much spoke of by *Cicero* in his Book *De Oratore*.

P. 250. l. 9. *Talk of the Leontine.*] *Leontium* is a Town of *Sicilia Septentrionalis*, famed for its Land's being fertile.

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P. 251. l. 8. *Roscian Law.*] In the Consulate of *Lucius Metellus* and *Quintus Martius*, and the Year of the City 682, *Lucius Roscius Otho*, a Tribune of the People, enacted a Law, that fourteen Forms should be set apart for the *Roman Knights* on the Theatre. But those of them who, either through their own Mismanagement or bad Luck, had lost their Estates, had no Right to sit in these Forms.

P. 254. l. 2. *Was intimate with Clodius.*] *Antony* was very intimate with *Clodius* the Tribune of the People; but when he saw that he had many Enemies, he left him and sailed into *Greece*.

Ibid. l. 18. *But he had Gabinius for his Leader.*] This *Gabinius* was a very covetous Fellow, and was sent Proconsul to reduce *Ptolemy King of Egypt*.

P. 255. l. 2. *Sisapo.*] *Sisapo* was a Town in *Corduba* in *Spain*, famous for its Mines of Red-Lead. *Cicero* mentions it here by Way of Infamy. It alludes, probably, to some Proverb taken from the Collusion among the Farmers, in whose Hands it was, or from their working under Ground.

P. 256. l. 15. *Your Husband.*] *Viz. Cicero.*

P. 261. l. 6. *He has restored Licinius Denticula.*] *Cicero* here puts *Antony's* Vices into a very detestable Light; he shews that *Antony*, as he himself expresses it, was villainous even in the Exercise of Villainy, because he suffered his own Uncle to live in Banishment, yet restored a common Sharper.

Ibid. l. 28. *Play in the Forum at Dice.*] This appears to have been an aggravating Circumstance among the *Romans*; for we find, by a Law passed by *Sylla*, that all Gaming was prohibited, except it was for Improvement in personal Exercise; such as throwing the Spear, Running, Jumping, Wrestling, and Boxing.

P. 262. l. 8. *What a Review of our Municipal Cities.*] The Words in the Original are *Lustratio Municipiorum*; which signifies, a Reviewing of the Municipal Cities, with a Design to know who were fit for his Purpose, and who not.

P. 263. l. 7. *Doubtful and dangerous it is for Fathers Conscript to blame his other Actions.*] Our Author very wisely, and at the same Time very artfully, takes no-

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tice on every Occasion, that while he is speaking he speaks with the Sword at his Throat.

P. 624. l. 10. *How I lie.*] It is hard to translate the little Interjections that *Cicero* throws in through the Whole of this Oration; and indeed it is almost impossible for an *English* Reader to read it, (without consulting the Original) with any Pleasure.

P. 265. l. 3. *The tributary Horses.*] It is very hard to determine upon what Account these Horses were furnished; it is most probable that they were a Kind of Perquisite to the General of the Horse, furnished by the Publick for his Equipage.

Ibid. l. 24. *Levity.*] Nothing gave the *Romans* a worse Idea both of a Man's Head and his Heart, than Inconstancy and Levity; hence it is that the Word *Levitas* is taken in a general bad Sense, as well for the Want of Morals as of Sense.

P. 266. l. 18. *He must have been wretched.*] The Reader will no doubt of himself, observe what a vast Difference our Author makes betwixt a living and a dead *Cæsar*: who could imagine that this is the same Person with him to whom the Orations for *Marcellus* and *Ligarius* were address'd?

P. 269. l. 19. *The naval Spoils, which adorned its Porch.*] The *Romans*, it would seem, had a great Pride in ornamenting their Porches, and the Avenues to their Houses. *Pompey*, having been very successful in the War against the Pyrates, had his ornamented with Naval Spoils.

P. 271. l. 18. *Unequal you was to this War.*] The *Alexandrine War* being finished, which was undertaken by *Cæsar*, after the Victory at *Pharsalia*, he undertook a fresh War against *Scipio* and *Cato* in *Africa*, in which War *Antony* did not follow *Cæsar*.

Ibid. l. 22. *Lucius Domitius.*] *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus* was a Man justly famed on Account of his glorious Actions, and before the Breaking-out of the Civil War was ordered to succeed *Cæsar* in *Gaul*.

P. 272. l. 9. *You was asked for the Money you owed.*] Before *Cæsar's* Death *Antony* was by no Means so great a Favourite with him, as he had been during the Civil Wars. *Cæsar's* insisting for immediate Payment of the Money which he was to give for *Pompey's* Estate, was some

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some Proof of this. But after all there is little Ground to imagine that *Cæsar's* real Design was to have ruined *Antony*; perhaps it was only to have a Check upon his Extravagance, and thus render him more useful to his own Designs.

P. 273. l. 25. *Therefore he sent an Assassin to Cæsar's House.*] This is an Anecdote very probably of *Cicero's* own. It might perhaps have a Foundation on some Report spread about that Time; but we can have no Reason to believe it true.

P. 275. l. 26. *Without either wooden Pattens, or a short Cloak.*] Our Author is here very severe upon the Manner in which *Antony* entered *Rome* on leaving *Gaul*. The Reader is to observe, that the Dress alluded to here, was such as the *Romans* thought highly becoming any Man of Quality or Fortune. The rest of the Description of *Antony's* Journey back to *Rome* is full of very fine Humour, and represents him in a very ludicrous Light.

P. 277. l. 14. *Lucius Plancus.*] This *Lucius Plancus* was Brother to *Munatius Plancus*, a Friend of *Cicero's*, and to whom a good many of his Epistles are addressed. *Lucius* here spoken of was Tribune of the People when *Antony* owed all this Sum of Money to the Publick and to *Cæsar*, and threatened us he would distress his Estate in order to pay off his Debts.

Ibid. l. 19. *You became the Talk of the People.*] There is, in the Original, a *double Entendre*, which made the People a little merry.

Ibid. l. 29. *This was the Characteristick.*] *Cicero* has here hit upon the true Character of *Cæsar*, and almost of every Man who changes the State of a free People into Slavery. It was by first breaking the private Virtues of the *Romans*, that he only could pave his Way to those fundamental Alterations in the Constitution; such as the lengthening the Time of his Command, and suffering him to stand a Candidate for a publick Office in his Absence. This Maxim he stuck close to even after his Ends were compassed, as appears from his Familiarity with *Antony*, and several other bold lewd Fellows. *Plutarch* tells us a Story of *Dionysius the Elder*, applicable enough to this Conduct of *Cæsar*. Some Persons reproaching him, for promoting

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a profligate Fellow, who was abhorred by the Citizens, to Honour; he replied, I want to have some one in the City more detested by the Citizens than myself; or he imitated *Philip*, who had advised, that the Friendship of the most powerful Men in all the Towns, as well those who were virtuous, as those who were wicked, should be sought after, that the one might be used, and the other abused.

P. 278. l. 12. *Dolabella.*] *Cæsar* had exhorted *Publius Cornelius Dolabella* to seek the Consulate, and had promised him his Assistance in that Affair; but having changed Sentiments, he deprived *Dolabella* of the Consulship promised him, and took it to himself, contrary to his Promise passed. Thus *Dolabella* was pushed on by *Cæsar*'s Exhortations, soothed by his Promises, and at last affronted by an open Repulse.

Ibid. l. 20. *Invaign'd more freely.*] When *Dolabella* saw that he was deprived of the Consulate, and that *Cæsar* had taken it to himself, taking it as an Affront, and not daring at the same Time to complain openly of *Cæsar*, he spoke bitterly against *Antony*, and upbraided him with being perfidious, that through him *Cæsar* might be reached. But *Antony* instantly flew into a Passion, and spoke so opprobriously to *Dolabella*, that the Conscript Fathers were angry with him, and *Cæsar* himself blushed so much for the Impudence of his Colleague, that he hushed the Debate, and in order to satisfy *Dolabella*, promised to put him in the Consulate, and in his own Place, before he should go to the *Parthian War*.

P. 280. l. 11. *The Day comes for Dolabella's Election.*] *Cæsar* had promised that before he went to the *Parthian War*, he would take care that *Dolabella* should be created Consul in his Stead. When therefore the Day of the *Comitia* was approaching, he convened the People, and amongst all the Centuries into which they were distributed, one was to fall to him by Lot, whose Vote was to be asked. *Antony* was satisfied, nor did he oppose that Way of going to Work by Lots. Having asked, received, and counted the Suffrages, *Dolabella* is returned, as having the Ballance on his Side. *Antony* in the mean time was silent, and did not by a single Word insinuate, that these *Comitia* were corrupted. After the Prerogative Century, the first Class is called in to give its Suffrage, and

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and in the usual Form the Votes are asked, and so the rest of the Classes. After the Constitution of the five and thirty Tribes, into which the Classes and their Centuries were divided; in the first Place the Tribes cast Lots, which should be the Prerogative Tribe, and then the Centuries of the Tribe for being the Prerogative Century. All the other Tribes and Centuries had the Appellation of *Jure vocatæ*, because they were called out according to their proper Places.

The Prerogative Century being chose by Lot, the chief Magistrate, sitting in a Tent in the Middle of the *Campus Martius*, ordered that Century to come out and give their Voices: Upon which they presently separated from the rest of the Multitude, and came into an inclosed Apartment, which they called *Septa* or *Ovilia*, passing over the *Pontes*, or narrow Boards which they laid there for that Occasion, on which Account *de ponte dejici* is to be denied the Privilege of Voting; and Persons thus dealt with, were called *Depontani*. But for a full and accurate Account of this Matter, see *Hook's Roman History*.

P. 281. l. 20. *But see the Arrogance and Insolence.*] *Antony* arrogated so much to himself, that he wanted the *Auspices* to depend intirely on his Will.

P. 282. l. 19. *Clothed with a purple Robe.*] This was the Robe wore by Generals when they triumphed, according to *Plutarch*; it was likewise wore by Kings, according to *Dio*.

P. 283. l. 8. *Therefore you alone.*] He here concludes the Matter with a grievous Exclamation, because *Antony* alone was found daring enough for that Attempt

P. 285. l. 4. *Contrary to all Law.*] *Livy*, lib. 2. has these Words, *Omnium primum avidum novæ libertatis populum, ne post modum flecti precibus, aut donis regiis posset, jure jurando adegit neminem Romæ passuros regnare*. And these Things they swore, standing over slain Victims, not only for themselves, but for their Posterity, that neither Solicitations, nor any royal Gifts, should ever prevail with them to admit regal Government again into *Rome*.

Ibid. l. 11. *Which tho' fictitious.*] It would appear as if *Cicero* had an Intention to arraign *Antony* for this before the Senate. From this Passage it seems probable, that

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that *Cicero* knew not that *Cæsar* was to be killed on that Day.

P. 286. l. 10. *While the other Consulars.*] Commentators have made very botching Work here. The Original is, *irent, redirent*, which signifies no more than that they altered their Way of Thinking of *Antony*, sometimes to one Way, sometimes to another; but, says *Cicero*, *ego in sententia mansi*, "I still kept in the same Way of Thinking."

Ibid. l. 17. *The Temple of Tellus.*] The Day on which the Senate met in the Temple of *Tellus*, is very often mentioned by *Cicero* with great Pleasure; but I cannot understand why, since they met so amicably; all the Avenues and Entries were blocked up with armed Men. One should have thought that the Friends of the Republick would have taken the Alarm at this, and suspected that *Antony* did not mean them fair.

P. 287. l. 15. *Panegyrick.*] This is the same Harangue which *Shakespeare* has so beautifully imitated. See the Notes upon the first *Philippic*.

Ibid. l. 21. *Lucius Belienus.*] This was a Senator, whose House the People, instigated by *Antony's* Speeches, set on Fire, and had certainly proceeded farther, had they not been quelled by *Dolabella*.

P. 289. l. 12. *First of April.*] There is an Interpolation here in most of the ordinary Copies of the Original, which has been occasioned by the Carelessness of Transcribers.

Ibid. l. 26. *Dejotarus.*] *Dejotarus*, King of *Gallugracia*, stiled by the Senate, the Friend of the People of *Rome*, and King of *Armenia the Lesser*, was along with *Pompey* in the Battle of *Pharsalia*: But *Pompey* being overcome by *Cæsar*, he returned into his own Kingdom; he appeased *Cæsar* by sending him the Horses, and the Money he demanded of him; whom he also received into one of his Forts, when going forth against *Pharmaces*. He was accused by his own Subjects as if he intended to kill *Cæsar* when staying with him. He was defended by *Cicero*. But he was deprived of one Part of *Gallugracia* by *Cæsar*, and *Armenia* given him by the Senate. But *Cæsar* being killed, whatever he had been deprived of was restored to him. But *Antony*, the King's Ambassadors dissuading him, promised that if *Dejotarus* would

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would give him a certain Sum, he would produce an Edict, by Means of which, whatever had been taken from him by *Cæsar*, should be restored to him, as if that had been found in his Pocket-Book.

P. 292. l. 10. *Ought you not to be bound?*] This is very insulting Language; but at the same Time it was a very gross Imposition, which *Antony* wanted to palm upon the Senses of Mankind, by pretending that *Cæsar* had made an Act freeing *Crete* from paying Tribute, after the Expiration of the Proconsulate of *Brutus*, when *Cæsar* could not know that it was to fall to *Brutus's* Share.

P. 293. l. 15. *Thunder.*] The Romans took great notice of the Quarter from whence Thunder proceeded, and its coming from an unfavourable Quarter was enough to defeat their most important Resolutions.

P. 293 l. 20. *To be a Septemvir.*] Seven Commissioners called the *Septemviri*, were appointed for taking care of the Feasts appointed in Honour of the Gods. Others think that *Cicero* here means one of the seven Commissioners appointed after *Cæsar's* Death for dividing the *Campanian* and the *Leontine* Lands.

P. 296. l. 17. *At Cassinum.*] This is a Town in *Campania*.

P. 301. l. 5. *Your Colleague.*] It is easy to perceive, that *Cicero* really had a Kindness for *Dolabella*, who was *Antony's* Colleague; for here he imputes all his Mismanagements only to *Antony's* ill Example and Influence.

P. 302. l. 1. *Battalions of Soldiers.*] As if they had been designed and ready for Action.

P. 304. l. 6. *Why are we not in our Robes?*] Commentators have very different Opinions with regard to this Passage. *Cicero* here reproaches *Antony*, because they were not in their Robes upon the Occasion of a Festival devoted to the Memory of *Cæsar*. This has occasioned some to imagine, that the Senators were always *Pretextati*, that is in their Robes of Ceremony: Others think that *Cicero* here speaks only in Quality of *Augur*, who likewise had a Right to the *Pretexta*. Others are of Opinion, with great Probability, that *Antony's* Zeal had carried him so far as to get a Decree passed, that the Senators should be present at the Games celebrated in his Honour in their Robes.

Ibid. l. 26. *Your Grandfather.*] *Cæsar* throws out here

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here a good deal of Wit; I am not sure if it is of the most pure Kind. The Pun he makes use of is better understood in the Original, than it can be in the Translation: *Differtissimum cognovi avum tuum. At te etiam apertiore in dicendo ille nunquam nudus est concionatus tuum hominis simplicis Pectus videmus.*

P. 306. l. 1. *The Love of your Fellow Citizens.*] We see that it has been a very old Maxim, that a Tyrant never was safe when surrounded by Guards: It is upon the Affections of the People alone that a sure Sway can be founded.

Ibid. l. 8. *Thy generous Spouse.*] *Fulvia*, who was *Antony's* Wife, had had three Husbands, *Clodius*, *Curio*, and *Antony*. The first was killed by *Milo*; the second, being sent by *Cæsar* against *Juba*, King of *Mauritania*, was defeated and killed; and *Cicero* here prognosticates the Death of her third Husband, who was *Antony*.

P. 309. l. 6. *Are you to be compared with him.*] We have here a very fine Encomium upon *Cæsar*, whom *Cicero* describes as possessing the greatest Qualifications. We are told by *Pliny*, that he was capable at the same Time, to write and to read, to dictate and to give Audiences: That he could dictate to four Clerks all at once; and, if he had no other Business on his Hands, to seven. We have many other Instances of his great Capacity and Quickness, both from his Contemporaries and other Authors.

Ibid. l. 12. *He laid a Scheme.*] It is very probable, that if the Conspirators against *Cæsar* had not cut him off in the Manner they did, he would have enjoyed a long and a happy Reign. Perhaps, as Things fell out afterwards, it had been happy for the *Romans*, if he had lived till he had seen the great Designs he had formed, both civil and military, put in Execution. By what we learn in this Oration, and in the preceding one, they must have been very advantageous for the Constitution of *Rome*.

P. 310. l. 10. *This gives you no Concern.*] Perhaps this Part of our Author's Speech cost him dearer than all the rest. He had great Authority and Weight in the Senate, and with the People: And however *Antony* might despise his Invektive and Railing, yet it is not to be supposed that he could be easy while such a Man as *Cicero*, who

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who here so openly threatens him, lived. It was therefore no Wonder, if the first Preliminary of his Agreement with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, was that *Cicero* should be given up to his Sword.

P. 311. l. 7. *The Swords of Cataline I despised.*] This is a very artful Infination at the End of a Speech; it awakes in the Mind an Idea of the Character of *Catiline*, which is applicable to *Antony*, and the Deliverer of *Rome*, which is applied to *Cæsar*.

Ibid. l. 15. *In this very Temple.*] See the fourth Oration against *Catiline*.

Ibid. l. 22. *My Station and Character.*] These are the Questorship, the *Ædileship*, the *Prætorship*, the Consulship, the Proconsulship of *Cilicia*, the Augurship, two Thanksgivings decreed in Honour of him, the Name of General bestowed on him, the Renown of being the first Orator of the Age, and the Honour of a Triumph, unless his Return from *Cilicia* had happened amidst the Commotions of the Civil War.

Ibid. l. 23. *Two Things only I have now to wish for.*] He closes his Oration with two Wishes: That at his Death he may leave the Republick free from the Tyranny of *Antony*; and that the good Citizens may flourish and be happy; but that the Seditious, and those who are guilty of Oppression, might receive a Punishment proportioned to the Enormity of their Crimes. *Demosthenes* concludes his Oration concerning the Crown in the same Manner with Wishes. His Words are, Μη, δὲτ' ἂν πάντες θεοί. Immortal Gods, wink not at these Things, but in the first Place give these People a sounder Mind; but if they are incurable, utterly destroy them, both by Sea and Land, and speedily delivering us from the Terrors we labour under, secure our Peace and Happiness.

F I N I S.

Exhibit No. 1

who have to operate these machines, I have found that the most important thing is to have a good understanding of the machine and its operation. I have found that the most important thing is to have a good understanding of the machine and its operation.

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